



U.S. Department of Justice

JBS  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

MR. ERNIE LAZAR  
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577 SOUTH THORNHILL ROAD  
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264 7884

December 26, 2007

Subject: FILE NUMBER 100-13570

FOIPA No. 1093087- 000

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

- ☐ (b)(1)
- ☒ (b)(2)
- ☐ (b)(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ (b)(4)
- ☐ (b)(5)
- ☒ (b)(6)

- ☐ (b)(7)(A)
- ☐ (b)(7)(B)
- ☒ (b)(7)(C)
- ☒ (b)(7)(D)
- ☐ (b)(7)(E)
- ☐ (b)(7)(F)
- ☐ (b)(8)
- ☐ (b)(9)

Section 552a

- ☐ (d)(5)
- ☐ (j)(2)
- ☐ (k)(1)
- ☐ (k)(2)
- ☐ (k)(3)
- ☐ (k)(4)
- ☐ (k)(5)
- ☐ (k)(6)
- ☐ (k)(7)

316 page(s) were reviewed and 310 page(s) are being released.

- ☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:
  - ☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
  - ☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

The enclosed records were processed in response to your request for information from the FBI Milwaukee Field Office.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Sections 16.10 and/or 16.49, there is a fee of ten cents per page for duplication. No fees are assessed for the first 100 pages. You have already received 100 free pages for the subject of this file, "John Birch Society", with FOIPA #1032135, wherein you received 133 pages without cost. Upon receipt of these documents please make a check or money order payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the amount of \$ 31.00 for 310 released pages. To insure proper identification of your request, please return this letter or include the FOIPA request number(s) with your payment. Failure to pay for this release will close your current request as well as any pending FBI FOIA requests from you. Nonpayment will also cause an automatic denial of any future FOIA requests.

To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 6  
Page 257 ~ b6, b7C  
Page 258 ~ b6, b7C  
Page 259 ~ b6, b7C  
Page 260 ~ b6, b7C  
Page 292 ~ Duplicate  
Page 293 ~ Duplicate

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this Page X  
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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-new)

DATE: August 1, 1960

FROM : ASAC

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

[redacted] a reporter for the Milwaukee Journal, mentioned to me on 7-27-60, that a group to be known as "The John Birch Society" was apparently being organized in Milwaukee and would include among its sponsors some very wealthy and well known citizens. He said [redacted] was apparently spearheading the group. He also said WILLIAM MULLIGAN, newly-appointed AUSA here in Milwaukee, has been requested to talk to the organization late in August or early in September, but this invitation had not been accepted. [redacted] meantime, had shown USA MINOR a clipping from a Chicago newspaper indicating The John Birch Society might be coming into existence in various places and might be extreme in some of its political thinking.

b6  
b7c

Because of the foregoing, it is desired that a case be opened and that sufficient information be secured most discreetly and forwarded to the Bureau, pursuant to paragraph C of SAC Letter 60-5 dated 1-26-60. No active investigation is to be conducted.

[redacted] said that if he could get enough information together he intended to write a story about the formation of this group in Milwaukee.

2 - 100-new  
JDP:mcs  
(2)08A1  
1/9-1  
98

100-13570-1

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SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
AUG 1 1960	
[redacted]	

SAC (100-new)

August 1, 1960

ASAC

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

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Because of the foregoing, it is desired that a case be opened and that sufficient information be secured most discreetly and forwarded to the Bureau, pursuant to paragraph C of SAC Letter 60-5 dated 1-26-60. No active investigation is to be conducted.

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2 - 100-new  
JDP:mcs  
(2)

8/18/60  
From SAC Letter 60-5, (C): "In the event a chapter of the John Birch Society is organized in your territory, the Bureau should be notified of the chapter's activities. The Bureau should be particularly interested in any efforts by subversive elements to take over or use this Society or its chapters. No investigation should be conducted." [Signature]

This is  
62-00-558  
[Signature]

100-13570-1

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>K</i>	FILED <i>K</i>
AUG 1 1960	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

[Signature]





'Ah, Friend, You've Had a Vision and Heard Voices, Too?'

The Milwaukee Journal  
August 2, 1960

100-13570-2

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 3 1960	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-13570)

DATE: August 3, 1960

FROM : SA

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

✓ ROBERT WELCH, founder of captioned organization, was interviewed on August 3, 1960 by ROBERT SIEGRIST on the latter's radio program over Station WRIT. The interview initiated at 12:01 a.m. and terminated at 1:00 a.m.

SIEGRIST in his introduction of ROBERT WELCH stated that he was a Belmont, Massachusetts, citizen who founded the John Birch Society, which Society was openly criticized by the Milwaukee Journal in its July 31, 1960 edition. The Journal quoted WELCH as stating that President EISENHOWER was a Communist, and that the Federal Government was loaded with Communist sympathizers. He telephonically contacted WELCH on August 1, 1960, at which time WELCH agreed to fly to Milwaukee and appear on his program.

SIEGRIST asked WELCH if he had ever made a statement that "Eisenhower was a Red" and whether or not this was a doctrine of the John Birch Society? WELCH replied that the statement was false and was erroneously reported by the Milwaukee Journal. No books, records, recordings or manuscripts edited and published by the John Birch Society make any allegation that President EISENHOWER is a red agent or a Communist.

WELCH was then asked to furnish information about his publication the "Politician." WELCH stated that the so-called book was not a dogma of the John Birch Society. It was written by him between 1954 and 1958 in the nature of a letter to a friend. This manuscript does not try to prove anything. It merely reflects the personal beliefs of WELCH and certainly could not stand up in a court of law. In support of his statement that the John Birch Society had nothing to do with the "Politician," WELCH pointed out that

EGB:dml  
(3) *dml*

*1 cc to Bu  
8/3/60  
gdp*

100-13570-3

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AUG 3 1960	

*[Signature]*

MI 100-13570

the John Birch Society was founded after the completion of the manuscript.

In answer to the question "Do you think Eisenhower is a Communist?" WELCH stated that he would never make a public statement of that kind. He felt that his answer would be strictly a personal belief, not necessarily supported by fact, and he would be foolish to make a statement which would be subject to cross-examination. He pointed out, however, that his manuscript shows that EISENHOWER is helping the Communists and may be a Communist. These are his personal beliefs which were set forth in his manuscript and his statements are not documented. His manuscript was prepared not for publication, but merely for circulation among his friends.

WELCH admitted that his manuscript accused EISENHOWER of actions which were, in fact, treason against the United States, but he had no intention of giving reasons for this statement during his radio interview. He also stated that he refuses at this time to make any public remarks relative to the contents of the book which were set out in part in the Milwaukee Journal article. He did admit, however, over the radio, that certain things that EISENHOWER did or permitted to take place aided the Communists. WELCH stated that he was unable to determine at this time whether EISENHOWER performed these actions willingly and knowingly or because of pure ignorance.

WELCH cited a "treasonable act" on the part of President EISENHOWER as KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the United States at the President's request. He said this visit was a big boost to the Communists and did nothing to advance democracy. WELCH stated that the Soviet's biggest weapon was treason in other governments. The United States has treason among its officials. He considered it treason on the part of certain officials in the government because Poland, China, Yugoslavia and a number of other countries were lost to the Communists. He refused to name the officials responsible and refused to cite proof that the United States Government by its actions had lost the aforementioned countries.

At this time WELCH again brought up the "cardinal point" that the John Birch Society is not governed or directed by the contents of his manuscript. He did venture to guess that four-fifths of the John Birch Group have never heard of this manuscript and that the one-fifth who have are not necessarily in agreement. He pointed



MI 100-13570

out that [redacted] a Milwaukee member of his organization, when interviewed by ROBERT SIEGRIST on a previous day, openly stated that she did not consider EISENHOWER a Communist. b6 b7

WELCH stated that a true democracy can only operate in a very small community or group. When the group grows in size the errors of the people and the organization are multiplied until the whole idea of true democracy is lost. He stated that our democracy is truly a "mobology."

SIEGRIST specifically asked WELCH if the John Birch Society was ruled as a dictatorship by WELCH. WELCH stated that all members are at liberty to accept or reject his suggestions without losing their membership. Periodic instructions are mailed out to all members of his organization and at that time suggestions are made on how they should act and what they should do to further their organization. These suggestions are not mandatory and the members may act as their conscience guides them.

Two questions were directed to WELCH from the audience: Is NIXON a Communist? and the other, How do I become a member of the John Birch Society? WELCH stated he did not feel NIXON was a Communist and stated membership in his organization could be obtained by writing to the John Birch Society, Belmont, Massachusetts, or by contacting local representatives of the John Birch Society.

WELCH stated that he and his organization were fighting Communism by sending out large quantities of letters, by exposing such treasonable acts as KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the United States. They also send letters to Congressmen recommending or suggesting certain actions they should take relative to legislation.

In conclusion WELCH pointed out that to his knowledge no law enforcement agency is interested in his organization and none has initiated investigation of him or his members. His organization is not a secret society. All literature published by the Society is available to the public.

Director, FBI

August 3, 1960

SAC, Milwaukee (100-13570)

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Considerable public interest is being shown in Milwaukee in the John Birch Society. In its issue of Sunday, July 31, 1960, The Milwaukee Journal carried a front page story concerning the organization of ten chapters of this society throughout Wisconsin. A copy of this article is enclosed. Also enclosed is a cartoon which appeared August 2, 1960, in the same newspaper.


Following publication of the Journal story, BOB SIEGRIST, a local news caster, invited ROBERT WELCH, JR., founder of the society, to appear on his program "Talk of the Town" last night. WELCH came to Milwaukee for this purpose and was interviewed. The broadcast was monitored by this office, and the results are set forth in the enclosed memorandum of this date prepared by SA Eugene G. Babler.

SIEGRIST telephoned this office yesterday to inquire whether the FBI would make any comment regarding the John Birch Society. He was told we would not. During the conversation he said his office had been besieged with telephone calls during the day because of [REDACTED] b6 b7C

[REDACTED] SIEGRIST said there was general disapproval of the extreme statements attributed to WELCH in the Journal article.

The Bureau has previously been advised concerning reported organization of a branch of the John Birch Society at Green Bay, Wis. The Bureau will be further advised concerning the other organizations reported to have come into existence.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (Air Mail)  
1 - MI 100-13570  
JDP:mcs  
(3)



100-13570-4



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-13570)

DATE: August 3, 1960

FROM : ASAC

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

BOB SIEGRIST telephoned 4:30 P.M., 8-2-60, and inquired whether the FBI would have any comment to make concerning the formation of the John Birch Societies in Wisconsin. I told him the FBI had no comment to make concerning these groups.

Mr. SIEGRIST advised he had invited ROBERT WELCH to appear on his program "Talk of the Town" on the evening of 8-2-60, that Mr. WELCH had accepted, and would be on it about 11:30 P.M.

Arrangements were made for SA [ ] to monitor this program in order that the Bureau might be advised.

On 8-1-60, [ ] telephoned this office to express her concern over the reported formation of these John Birch Societies. She said she was outraged by them, and had no idea what she could do about them, but she would like to do something. [ ] was appropriately advised.

1 - 100-13570

JDP:mcs

(1)

100-13570-5

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 4 1960	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

## Founder Denies View Is Shared

The founder of the John Birch society, Robert Welch, wealthy retired candy maker from Belmont, Mass., said here Wednesday that his belief that President Eisenhower is a Communist is not a tenet of the society.

Welch was interviewed at a Milwaukee hotel, where he was staying after appearing on a radio program Tuesday night. He said that a headline above a Milwaukee Journal story Sunday about Welch, the John Birch society and the society's growth in Wisconsin was "fallacious" because it attributed Welch's personal beliefs about Mr. Eisenhower to the society as a group.

The Journal headline said: "Group Branding Ike as Red Has 10 Chapters in Wisconsin." Welch said Wednesday that "nowhere is there any single bit of evidence of this."

Welch declined to discuss the story in the Sunday Journal. He objected only to the headline.

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SEARCHED <i>MR</i>	INDEXED <i>MR</i>
SERIALIZED <i>6</i>	FILED <i>MS</i>
AUG 4 1960	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

*Handwritten:* [Signature]

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

8/3/60

# Group Branding Ike as Red Has 10 Wisconsin Chapters

**John Birch Society  
Numbers 150 to 200  
Members, Growth  
Disturbs Officials**

**ALEX P. DOBISH**  
Of The Journal Staff

Ten chapters of the John Birch society, founded by a man who believes that President Eisenhower is a dedicated Communist, have formed in Wisconsin in the last year.

The ostensible purpose of the society is to fight communism and influence American politics. Its members include such leading citizens as William C. Greis, Milwaukee industrialist.

Four branches have been formed in Milwaukee and one each in Wauwatosa, Green Bay, De Pere, Oshkosh, Appleton and Eagle River.

**Retired Manufacturer**  
Mrs. John Rueber, 3014 S. Delaware av., the wife of a medical technician in the Milwaukee area, is coordinator. Richard O'Hara, Green Bay, an accountant, is in charge of upstate activities.

The founder of the society is a wealthy retired candy manufacturer who lives in Belmont, Mass.—Harold Robert H. W.

Welch Jr., a persuasive speaker, conservative and the author of "The Politician."

"The Politician" is a manuscript of 302 pages which has been privately reproduced in book form by the photo-offset process. Leaders of the society have received copies from Welch with the admonition that the contents are strictly confidential and for your eyes only.

The book tries to prove that Mr. Eisenhower is a dedicated conscientious agent of the Communist party.

It claims that Mr. Eisenhower's brother, Milton, is the president's superior in the party and that a dozen other highly placed government men are either outright Communists or tools of the party.

**Claims Presidents 'Used'**  
Former President Roosevelt, the book says, was unknowingly used by the party. Ex-President Truman was knowingly used, it continues. As for President Eisenhower, page 268 reads:

"In my own opinion, the Communists have one of their own actually in the presidency. For this third man, Eisenhower, there is only one possible word to describe his purposes and actions. That word is treason."

Welch, Johnson and Mrs. Rueber deny that the book is

used at meetings. Group leaders like Johnson and Mrs. Rueber have copies, however.

Neither Johnson nor Mrs. Rueber would disavow the contents of "The Politician." Mrs. Rueber said she had not reached a conclusion, adding, "I am not obligated to explain my personal conclusion, but I have reached one to anybody."

**Curious About Book**

She wanted to know where The Milwaukee Journal had obtained a copy, since the book was not supposed to be seen by ordinary society members or outsiders.

"Someone," she said, "broke a confidence."

Johnson said he shared the bulk of Welch's views but shied away from hanging a Communist label on the president.

He said at first that he had no idea if Mr. Eisenhower was a Communist.

"I only know that if he is not, he might as well be," he said. "It is a moot question. The results of his administration are the same."

Later, he added, "I don't think Eisenhower is bright enough to be permitted to be one of the party."

Welch's goal is a million members. He declined to say how many members were in the

Turn to page 26.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
7-31-60

MILWAUKEE

COPIES 4

DATE 8/5/60

Original sent to FBI  
4/25/60

100-13570-7

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 7 1960	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



# Milwaukee Has Four John Birch Groups

From page 1, column 7

society nationally or in what states chapters had been organized. He said organization was going "nicely in Wisconsin," adding that Wisconsin was a "good, conservative state."

Asked if he still held the views expressed in "The Politician," he said he would not comment.

On his letterhead inviting selected persons to join, Welch lists two other Wisconsin industrialists, besides Grede, as members of the society's national council.

They are E. P. Hamilton, Two Rivers, president of the Hamilton Manufacturing Co., maker of washing machines, dryers and office and drafting equipment, and Cola B. Parker, Neenah, former chairman of the board of Kimberly-Clark Corp.,

paper manufacturer. Both were out of town and could not be reached for comment.

## Membership Confirmed

Grede confirmed that he was a council member. He said he didn't think Mr. Eisenhower was a Communist and said he had no comment about the book.

Welch describes the society in the "Blue Book," which he also wrote and which is distributed more widely among members than "The Politician."

"The men who join the John Birch society... are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership any way," he wrote.

"We are going to use that loyalty, like every other resource, to the fullest possible advantage that we can. When-

ever and wherever, either through infiltration by the enemy or honest differences of opinion, that loyalty ceases to be sufficient to keep some fragment in line, we are not going to be in the position of having the society's work weakened by raging debates.

## Opposes Factions

"We are not going to have factions developing on the two-sides-to-every question theme. Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out."

In the same book, Welch outlines his philosophy.

"Democracy, of course, in government or organization, as the Greeks and Romans found out, and as I believe... democracy is merely a deceptive

phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud."

The society is named after John Birch, an American army captain and fundamentalist Baptist minister, who allegedly was murdered by Chinese Communists 10 days after V-J day. The society was founded by Welch on Dec. 9, 1958, in Indianapolis, with the support of a small group of businessmen.

## Started in 1958

In Milwaukee the society began late in 1959 after Welch gave a privately attended talk here.

Mrs. Rueber's reason for organizing the first branch, she said, was:

"I couldn't sit back and wait for someone else to do it. Communism had been winning for some time."

She wrote to Welch saying

that she was interested, and received instructions on how to organize and other necessary material. She knows Welch personally.

"I consider him a fine man," she said.

Mrs. Rueber said two chapters were on the east side, two on the south side and a fifth in Wauwatosa. Meetings usually were in private homes. She declined to say where meetings were held or when the next one will be. She said the press could not attend.

Under the Welch program, each chapter gets a monthly "John Birch Bulletin," which Welch edits. This usually gives the "assignment" for the month and lists suggested reading matter. Frequently there are suggestions for a letter writing campaign to congressmen on legislation.

Dues are \$24 a year for men and \$12 for women.

Although only high leaders know membership figures, the

society is growing fast, according to law enforcement sources. Wisconsin has between 150 and 200 members, according to Johnson and Mrs. Rueber. They were enrolled in less than a year. This factor, plus the high level of influence and intelligence of members, disturbs law enforcement officials.

## Movies Are Utilized

Welch writes skillfully and uses movies effectively of himself speaking in making his points.

He was born in Chowan county, North Carolina. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina; attended the United States Naval academy for two years and, finally, Harvard law school. He was in charge of sales and advertising of the firm that bears his name. He was vice-chairman of the Massachusetts Republican finance committee and, in 1950, a candidate for the lieutenant governor's post on the Republican ticket.



SAC (100-new)

August 9, 1960

ASAC

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
DE PERE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
OSHDOSH, WIS.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
APPLETON, WIS.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
EAGLE RIVER, WIS.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
WAWATONA, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Attached is a photostat of an article which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal 7-31-60, captioned "Group Branding The as Red Has 10 Wisconsin Chapters .

A case is already pending for Milwaukee which will also include Wawatona. The Green Bay case has been closed.

New cases are being opened for the chapters at De Pere, Oshkosh, Appleton and Eagle River.

Sufficient information should be secured most discreetly and forwarded to the Bureau concerning the activities at these respective places, pursuant to Paragraph C, SAC Letter 60-35, dated 1-26-60. No active investigation is to be conducted.

- 2 - 100-new (JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, DE PERE, WIS.)
- 2 - 100-new (JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, APPLETON, WIS.)
- 2 - 100-new (JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, EAGLE RIVER, WIS.)
- 2 - 100-new (JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, OSHKOSH, WIS.)
- 1 - 100-13540
- 1 - 100-13570

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(10)

100-13550-8

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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AUG 9 1960	

9/6/60

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570)  
SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
IS-Miscellaneous

[redacted]  
telephonically advised this date that she attended a school for American Security on 9/1/60, which was held in the auditorium at the U.S. Naval Base, Glenview, Ill. She said that she met [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] that the John Birch Society was holding a "very secret" meeting at St. Louis, Mo. on Monday, September 12, 1960. [redacted] stated that [redacted] did not advise her as to the exact location of this meeting and that she had no other information concerning the meeting.

St. Louis' attention is called to SAC letter 6-015, (C). The above is being called to the attention of the St. Louis Office for their information.

3 - Bureau (AM)  
2 - St. Louis (Info) (AM)  
1 - Milwaukee (100-13570)

JCR:sjr  
(6)  
*sfv*

*[Handwritten signature]*

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100-13570-9

b6  
b7

## Birch Society Is Urged 'to Take Over PTA's'

Welch, the Founder of  
Organization, Asks  
Conservatives to 'Go  
on the Offensive'

The John Birch society has been told by its wealthy founder, Robert Welch, Belmont, Mass., to join and "take over" local chapters of the Parent-Teacher association.

In his September bulletin to members, Welch also urged his followers to "straighten out" PTA thinking and gain control to "exert a wider influence."

There are 10 chapters of the ultraconservative society in Wisconsin, including four in Milwaukee, according to its officers. The groups' avowed purpose is to fight communism.

### PTA Leader Indignant

The leader of the PTA movement in Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties was indignant when she learned of Welch's proposal Saturday.

"Well, isn't that something," said Mrs. Jeanette Adams, 2660 N. 66th st., Wauwatosa, president of the 4th PTA district.

"This is definitely important enough and I certainly shall call the state president's attention to this," she said, adding that the state PTA might carry the issue to national headquarters. There are 174 PTA units in the two counties.

"If we needed straightening out, it would have happened before," she said.

10/19/60  
R/S  
p

100-13570-10

SEARCHED <i>WS</i>	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>WS</i>	FILED
FEB 2 1960	
FBI	

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
9/25/60

b6  
b7

#### Nonpartisan, She Says

"There are definitely no ultras in this group one way or another. We are nonpartisan and interested in politics only as it affects children."

The Birch society bulletin is used as a guide by local societies but its officers are not required to follow the founder's suggestions.

Mrs. Donald Ruebel, 3014 S. Delaware av., area co-ordinator for the society, refused to discuss the matter. Mrs. Norman C. Skogstad, 2823 N. Summit av., who also is active in the group, referred questions to her husband, an attorney.

Skogstad said he had not seen the bulletin and therefore could not comment on it. He declined to say whether he was a member of the John Birch society.

#### Advice From Welch

"It is obvious," he said, "I don't subscribe to all the ideas of any person but there are many things that need to be done about communism."

Welch wrote:

"Join your local PTA at the beginning of this school year; get your conservative friends to do likewise and go to work to take it over. (The last three words were underlined.)

"You will run into real battles, against determined leftists who have had everything their way. But it is time we went on the offensive to make such groups the instruments of conservative purpose, with the same vigor and determination that the liberals have used the opposite aims."

"When you and your friends get your local PTA group straightened out, move up the ladder as soon as you can to exert a wider influence."

#### Says Stakes Are High

"And don't let the dirty tactics of the opposition get you down. Some of them are playing for much higher stakes than the casual recognition or honor that appears on the surface."

In the same issue he asked his followers to "harass Secretary of State Herter" and attacked the Republican vice-presidential nominee, Henry Cabot Lodge.

Welch urged attacking Herter as a "justifiable defensive activity on behalf of our country." He added: "In this total campaign to stop Herter before he completely sells out our country, we should use all honorable means for their cumulative effect."

Welch charged that Lodge had "done the most to build up the pretense for gullible Americans that the United Nations can serve some useful purpose, while subtly surrendering to Soviet pressures in one situation after another."

Welch, a retired candy manufacturer, was vice-chairman of the Massachusetts Republican finance committee and, in 1954, an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket.

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MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN



DIRECTOR, FBI

11/9/60

SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570)

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Milwaukee letter to the Bureau, 8/3/60, and  
Milwaukee airtel to the Bureau, 9/9/60.

This is to advise the Bureau that the only information since relet which has come to Milwaukee's attention about the captioned organization consists of material published by the "Milwaukee Journal" in two articles. The two articles are as follows:

1. "Founder Denies View is Shared," 8/3/60, which reported a Journal interview with ROBERT WELCH of Belmont, Massachusetts, the founder of the John Birch Society. WELCH was reported as saying that his belief President EISENHOWER was a Communist was not a tenet of his Society; that the "Milwaukee Journal" story of 7/31/60 about WELCH, the John Birch Society and the Society's growth in Wisconsin was fallacious because it attributed WELCH's personal beliefs about Mr. EISENHOWER to the Society and that there was no evidence the Society had ten chapters in Wisconsin.

2. "Birch Society is Urged to Take Over PTA's," 9/25/60, which reported that WELCH's September Bulletin to John Birch members told them to join and "take over" local chapters of the Parent-Teachers' Association, to "straighten out" PTA thinking and gain control to "exert a wider influence." The article added that the bulletin was a guide, not an exposition of regulations: that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] refused to discuss the matter: that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] active in the Society, referred questions to her lawyer husband, who himself declined to say whether he was a Society member and claimed not to have seen the bulletin.....The news article quoted WELCH as asking

2 - Bureau (RM)  
① - Milwaukee (100-13570)  
GVH:EF  
(3)

100-13570-11

MI 100-13570

his followers to harass Secretary of State HERTER, as attacking HENRY CABOT LODGE, the current Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, as the man who "done the most to build up the pretense for gullible Americans that the United Nations can serve some useful purpose, while subtly surrendering to Soviet pressures...."



Milwaukee files show that on 1/28/60, Milwaukee Office sent to the Bureau a letter entitled, "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade," concerning a Milwaukee School of Anti-Communism scheduled to be held February 9 - 13, 1960 at the Pfister Hotel, Milwaukee.



Milwaukee indices are negative on



The Milwaukee Office has received no information that subversive elements have tried to take over or use the John Birch Society. No investigation has been conducted.

Case closed here. Should any pertinent information be received the Bureau will be promptly advised.

Note: Hand print names legibly; handwriting satisfactory for remainder

Subject's name and aliases <b>JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY</b>		100-0-14857 Address of subject		Character of case <b>SM-C</b>	
Complainant <b>(FNU)</b>		Complainant's address and telephone number <b>(phonetic) unk</b>		Complaint received <input type="checkbox"/> Personal <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Telephonic Date <b>1/28/61</b> Time <b>1:30pm</b>	
Subject's Description	Race	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Height	Hair	Build
	Age		Weight	Eyes	Complexion
	Scars, marks or other data				

\_\_\_\_\_ requested information concerning the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, as he was interested in finding out what kind of organization it was. He advised he had read in the newspapers that the FBI had investigated the Society. \_\_\_\_\_ was advised that information in the files of the FBI was Confidential and if there was information in the files concerning this Society it could not be disseminated except to authorized parties. \_\_\_\_\_ advised he could not understand why he could not obtain the information he wanted which was merely whether or not the Society was affiliated with subversive organization and what the FBI had found out about the Society. He advised he planned to contact the Attorney General's office in Washington to see if they would give him the information he wanted. The writer expressed his regrets to \_\_\_\_\_ for not being able to help him. \_\_\_\_\_ declined to give his complete name or address.

b1  
b7

Milwaukee indices negative on above two names.

*Also file in Birch  
file for Milwaukee*

100-13570-12

Action Recommended **No action recommended, for information purposes only**

(Agent)

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# Walter Rejects Probe of John Birch Society

Representative Walter (Dem., Pa.), chairman of the house committee on un-American activities, has refused a request that his group investigate the ultra-conservative John Birch society.

In a letter to Representative Reuss, (Dem., Milwaukee), who asked for the investigation, Walter said:

"The committee has received numerous letters regarding the John Birch society. Most of them contain the general complaint that the organization is 'un-American' and the specific complaint that the leader of the society has made charges impugning the patriotism and loyalty of certain individuals.

## "No Material Information"

"As to the general complaint, we have received no material information which indicates that an investigation of the subject organization should, or

could, be made by us under existing statutes defining the authority of the committee. The specific complaint alleges wrongs against individuals—whose recourse would be action in the civil courts.

"The press indicates that a state group is calling for an investigation by the United States attorney general. Perhaps this will result in some official statement clarifying the matter. Incidentally, I note that the society itself is reportedly demanding an immediate investigation.

## Chief Justice a Target

"It is not the function of this committee, of course, to serve as a 'sounding board'—either for an organization against individuals, or for individuals against an organization."

In his letter to Walter asking that the house committee take up the matter of the John Birch society, Reuss said that he would not

## Walter

From page 1, column 8

society. Reuss said that "it would be hard to imagine more un-American propaganda activities than these, which are directly attacking both the executive and judicial branches of our government."

## Eastland Probe Opposed

The society has made impeachment of Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States, an important objective. A book, entitled "The Politician," published by the society's founder, Robert H. Welch,

Jr., charged that former President Eisenhower, and his brother, Milton, were Communists.

The book said that Allen Dulles, head of the central intelligence agency, was "the most protected and untouchable supporter of communism, next to Eisenhower himself."

Reuss said that he would not

recommend to Senator Proxmire (Dem., Wis.) that he request an investigation of the society by the senate internal securities subcommittee headed by Senator Eastland (Dem., Miss.).

"Eastland's subcommittee," Reuss said, "seems to be just

dying to endorse the John Birch society unofficially, and therefore would not be a fair organization to search out the truth."

Reuss said that, according to newspaper accounts, Eastland had said of the society: "We are happy to state that it seems to be, from our records, a patriotic organization."

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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

3/30/61

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-13570)

DATE: April 3, 1961

FROM : ASAC

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
SM - C

[redacted] telephone [redacted] telephoned at 12:50 P.M. 3-31-61. She stated she had joined the John Birch Society about a year previously, but had now come to the conclusion that she acted wrong in doing so. She said she would be pleased to cooperate with us in any way we might wish, if she could furnish any information we wanted concerning the John Birch Society.

I thanked her.

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*[Signature]*

John Birch in America ... 1

## Controversy Surrounds Secret Rightist Society

**Must Expose Reds in  
Our Midst, Even if It  
Takes Mean, Dirty  
Methods, Chief Says**

This is the first of three articles on the John Birch society, a semi-secret organization whose methods in fighting communism have created controversy. UPI news bureaus across the nation did research for the articles.

By BARBARA BUNDSCHU

United Press International

Residents of Santa Barbara, Calif. were in for a surprise last Feb. 26 when they picked up their Sunday newspapers. A respected fellow citizen had discovered what he felt was an outrage.

The editor and publisher of the News-Press is in his 80th year, began a two column editorial on the front page.

"His entire life has been spent in this community... he lived when conditions were rugged. When west was west and men were men. He lived during periods when in a man or a group of men, openly by word of mouth, or the printed word, called our president and others at the head of our government traitors, they were made to answer. Such slanders often called for a visit from a courageous and irate group which brought with them a barrel of tar and a few feathers."

**He Is Also Rancher.**

Thomas More Storke, rancher and citrus grower, owner of a newspaper since 1900, briefly by interim appointment a United States senator, regent of the University of California, was taking a stand against the John Birch society and its founder and leader, Robert Welch, of Belmont, Mass.

Welch, 61, retired from a candy firm four years ago to fight communism. What bothered Storke was the way Welch was fighting it.

In a letter written before he set up the society late in 1958 (expanded in his book, "The Politician") and still in limited circulation, Welch told friends: That President Eisenhower, his brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the late secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, and his brother, Allen Dulles, then and now head of the central intelligence agency, were members of the Communist underground.

But the statement about

Eisenhower, wasn't all Storke had on his mind. In Santa Barbara lives a member of the society's 26 man council, Dr. Granville Knight, a physician.

**Chapters Study Reds**

Several active chapters of the semi-secret society were studying communism at private meetings and looking around town for Communists to expose.

"The secret Communist looks and acts just like anybody else, only more so," Welch had instructed them. In fact, Welch said, one of his prime suspects was "one of the nicest men you ever met. Most of them are."

Welch declared that exposure of such persons, even through "mean and dirty" techniques, was one of the most effective means of shocking the American people awake in time to save themselves from communism. He also advises members to set up front groups, to infiltrate community organizations, and to engage in directed letter writing to promote specific campaigns.

**Tactics Condemned**

Storke wrote:

"The News-Press condemns the tactics that have brought anonymous telephone calls of denunciation to Santa Barbara in recent weeks from members of the John Birch society or their sympathizers."

The News-Press condemns the pressures on wealthy residents who fear and abhor communism, to contribute money to an organization whose leader

Turn to page 16, column 2.

From page 1, column 2

has said that "for reasons you will understand, there can be no accounting of funds."

"The John Birch society already has done a grave disservice to Santa Barbara by arousing suspicions and a mutual distrust among men of good will. The organization's adherents, sincere in their opposition to communism, do not seem to understand the dangers of the totalitarian dynamite with which they are tampering."

"The News-Press challenges them: Come up from underground."

**Its Nature Examined**

What is the real nature of this relatively new group on the American political scene? Political scientists would classify it as ultraconservative. Are its tactics compatible with American democratic principles as they are most popularly understood?

It is, in itself, an authoritarian society. Welch does not say the United States should have a similarly authoritarian form of government. But he is far from completely sold on the form we now have. And as for the political concept of a democracy, he regards this frankly as a "weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud."

By Welch's political standards, Dwight Eisenhower is a Communist, and so are many others in high government places, past and present.

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These are standards not everyone accepts. The United States senate on Mar. 8 heard Senator Young, North Dakota Republican, declare that Welch's accusations against Eisenhower and others had gone "beyond anything the late Joe McCarthy ever thought of."

#### Society Defended

On the other hand a senate internal security subcommittee has described Welch's John Birch society as a "patriotic organization."

A little over three weeks after Storke's editorial, Chancellor Samuel B. Gould of the University of California at Santa Barbara, speaking at a university banquet, said a "new type" of secret student organization had been set up on the campus and "unless it is checked, can destroy the university."

Another official said it was understood that Gould referred to the Birch society.

Gould said the organization to which he referred encouraged students to become informers and "take on the tasks of security agencies." He said the university and its officials "have been labeled and vilified in whispering campaigns, all purporting to prove that we are not only less than loyal to America but are downright subversive."

#### Other States Involved

Santa Barbara was not the first community to have been torn by the society's activities. The organization has become embroiled in controversy in many states, including Wisconsin, Texas, Ohio, Kansas, California and North Dakota.

Articles and editorial comment on the organization have been carried by a number of newspapers and magazines including the Chicago Daily News, The Milwaukee Journal, the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Boston Herald, the Los Angeles Times, the Racine Journal-Times, Time magazine and the Nation.

At issue between the society and many who might otherwise share Welch's conservative political and economic views is his persistent reasoning that everything he personally considers wrong is a Communist plot.

At issue between the society and those who condemn it is

the tendency of its activities to suppress if not the right, at least the respectability, of dissent.

This question has split the supreme court itself in decisions which have qualified the first amendment rights of witnesses before the house committee on un-American activities.

Inhibition of free speech allegedly caused by such private organizations as the Birch society, have had no judicial rule.

Editor Storke's statement of principles said: "We believe that traitors should be dealt with by the courts, not by vigilante groups."

#### Birch Was Missionary

John Birch had nothing to do with the group which bears his

name. He was a young Baptist missionary from Georgia who served as an intelligence officer in China in World War II and was killed 10 days after V-J day by Chinese Communists. He was 27 when he died.

Robert Welch never heard of Birch until after his death but

he has researched and written his life story.

Welch has memorialized Birch as "probably the first American casualty in that third world war, between Communists and the ever shrinking 'free world,' which is still being waged against us." And when

he came to found a Communist fighting organization, he called it the John Birch society.

In Birch's name, members of the society are asked to write

letters to congressmen and others operate in "front" organizations and through established community groups such as par-

turn to page 17, column 2

ent-teacher associations and chambers of commerce to push campaigns conceived by Welch as anti-Communist.

These include movements to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren, to repeal the income tax law, and to oppose the North Atlantic Treaty alliance, foreign aid, the United Nations and cultural or any other exchanges with Russia.

#### Birch's Parents Approve

At her farm home near Macon, Ga., Birch's mother, Mrs. George S. Birch, said she and her husband were "heartily in accord" with Welch's organization, "and we are proud for it to bear our son's name."

Welch also is a native southerner, born in North Carolina, Dec. 1, 1899. He was reared in what he now calls "the intellectually restricting bonds of the unusually narrow southern Baptist fundamentalism."

He spent four years at the University of North Carolina, two at the naval academy and two at Harvard law school before going into the candy business. He was for years vice-president of the James O. Welch Co., headed by his brother, which has factories in Massachusetts and in Los Angeles.

In his own words (a biographical sketch Welch wrote in the third person for society members) he "has one wife, two sons, a golden retriever dog, and fourteen golf clubs — none of which he understands, but all of which he loves."

#### Humor Is Revealed

He is an affable man who smiles easily and exhibits in his writings a sense of humor, love of poetry and wide knowledge of history and literature.

He was a director of the National Association of Manufacturers for seven years, serving also as a vice-president of the organization, and three former presidents of the NAM are or have been on the Birch society's council.

On Jan. 1, 1957, his biography says, he "gave up most of his business responsibilities — and most of his income — in order to devote practically all of his time and energy to the anti-Communist cause."

The John Birch society was founded almost two years later, on Dec. 9, 1958, at Indianapolis, after Welch delivered a two day speech to 11 men he had invited to hear it. That speech is today the official statement of society aims and meth-

ods. It is supplemented by monthly bulletins to members and the magazine "American Opinion," which Welch founded and of which he is editor.

The message and aim is: "Less government; more responsibility and a better world."

#### Repeal 20th Century?

Welch quite literally wants to repeal the 20th century. But unlike many who share this desire, either politically or nostalgically, he views its trend toward "collectivism" not simply as a mistake but as a sinister conspiracy to change the economic and political structure of the United States so that this nation can be merged with the Soviet Union without a fight.

"You have only a few more years," he told his listeners at Indianapolis. "We are living ... in such a fool's paradise as the people of China lived in 20 years ago."

He added:

"The danger is almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government."

The idea that the nation must mobilize its resources to combat the external danger of Soviet military might and Sputnik supremacy is, in Welch's view, a part of the Communist plot. He said:

"In other words, under the guise of fighting communism, we are being stampeded into the biggest jump ever toward, and perhaps the final jump right into, socialism and then the Communist camp."

#### Government Called Foe

Welch would repeal virtually all of the social and economic legislation of the last 30 years. He declared:

"The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government."

"We are not beginning any revolution, nor even a counter-revolution in any technical sense ... Yet our determination to overthrow an entrenched tyranny is the very stuff of which revolutions are made."

He claimed that communism was being slipped over on the American people so gradually and insidiously that before long "they can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against established government."

#### Extremism Deplored

The Los Angeles Times, in an

editorial signed by Publisher Otis Chandler on Mar. 12, saw an implication of sedition in Welch's statements. And, like many others, it deplored the identification of conservatism with extremism.

"The Times believes implicitly in the conservative philosophy," the editorial said. "It has challenged all these men and most of these institutions (which Welch attacks) on the soundness of one or more issues. But the Times does not believe that the argument for conservatism can be won by smearing as enemies and traitors those with whom we sometimes disagree.

"Subversion, whether of the

left or the right, is still subversion."

The Rev. John A. Crane told his congregation at Santa Barbara's Unitarian church one February Sunday:

"When you hear Welch's charges out of context... their absurdity is plain enough.

"But when you come upon them in the publications of the society, surrounded and supported by Welch's rich, flowing language and ideas, their absurdity is well concealed.

"The man is a marvelously gifted demagog."

Tomorrow—The Society's Doctrine and Membership

# Birch Society Probe Sought in Congress

WASHINGTON, March 30 (AP) Congress was urged Thursday to investigate the John Birch Society's founder for calling former President Eisenhower a card-carrying communist.

One congressman acknowledged membership in the conservative society. He is Rep. Hiestand (R-Calif.), who said: "I'm quite sure there are other members of Congress who are also members of the society."

But Sen. Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Sen. Dodd (D-Conn.) took the Senate floor to denounce the organization.

Kuchel said Robert Welch, founder of the society, should be called before the Senate Government Operations Committee to answer questions about attacks on the character of Eisenhower, Chief Justice Earl Warren and others.

To call Eisenhower a communist, Kuchel said, "is a fantastic and incredible lie."

Welch, a 61-year-old retired Boston candy manufacturer, founded the anti-communist society in 1958.

While Kuchel called for an investigation in the Senate, it was revealed that Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.) had asked for an in-

vestigation in the House.

Reuss asked Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to authorize a probe by his committee.

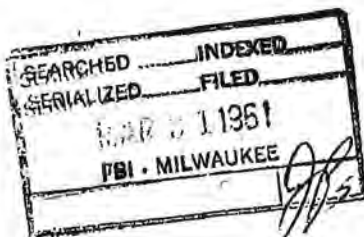
Walter, replying Thursday, said the committee has received numerous letters complaining that the organization was un-American. But, he added, their specific complaints alleged wrongs to individuals who have recourse to the civil courts.

## 'Ike Letter' Not Birch Document

BOSTON, March 30 (AP) Col. Lawrence Bunker, a Boston lawyer who was Gen. Douglas MacArthur's personal aid, said Thursday a letter branding former President Eisenhower as a communist was written before the John Birch Society was organized.

Bunker, identifying himself as a Birch Society director, said a statement that Chief Justice Warren should be impeached is "well documented."

Bunker said the letter about Eisenhower was written by Robert Welch, the society's founder, "long before the society was organized. It was circulated confidentially to a very limited number of people. It was never intended for publication and has not become a part of the society's documents or publications, as far as I know."



MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
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# Birch Group Causes U.S. Concern

WASHINGTON, March 31 (UPI) — Atty. Gen. Kennedy is concerned about the ultra-conservative John Birch Society, the Justice Department reported Friday.

But it declined to say whether he was investigating the semi-secret organization.

The statement came as Vice Chairman Dodd (D-Conn.) of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee said he would raise the possibility of a Senate investigation of the anti-communist group at the subcommittee's next meeting. He did not say he would push for an inquiry.

## CALLS FOR INQUIRY

Rep. Short (D-ND) called for a Justice Department inquiry. Asst. Senate Republican Leader Kuchel (Calif.) Thursday proposed that the Senate Government Operations Committee question Robert Welch, former candy manufacturer who founded the society.

A spokesman for Welch at the society's Belmont, Mass., headquarters, said the founder had no comment on criticism of the group and the demands for an investigation.

A Justice Department spokesman said the attorney general's concern about the society was prompted by the "growing number of inquiries the Justice Department has received" about the group.

## WELCOME PROBE

But Rep. Hiestand (R-Calif.), first member of Congress to reveal he belongs to the society, said he and Welch would welcome a congressional inquiry "the more thorough the better."

Hiestand defended the organization as the best means of fighting the "communist conspiracy." He conceded some members might be extremists, but denied the society is a clandestine or fascist group.

He said the society's main purposes were "violent and emphatic anti-communism" and promotion of "Less and less government."

Later Rep. Rousselot (R-Calif.) identified himself as another John Birch member. He said in San Marino, Calif., that society chapters in his area are "basically study groups, not arm-waving people who run around harassing others."

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover criticized "vigilante action" by Americans opposed to communism. He did not name the society or any other group.

New York City, the National Association of Manufacturers disclosed it had in effect censured the society in a board resolution adopted last September.

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# Birch Society Attacked in Washington

## Lawmakers Lash Out as FBI Chief Assails 'Vigilantes'; Justice Department Reacts

Washington, D. C. — A — The John Birch society has become "a matter of concern to the attorney general," a justice department spokesman said Friday.

Asked if the department planned any action, the spokesman would only say:

"A growing number of inquiries which the justice department has received about the John Birch society has made it a matter of concern to the attorney general."

There was no direct comment from Atty. Gen. Kennedy.

Members in both houses and of congress denounced the organization Thursday and called for investigations of its leaders. Several senators have been attacked in letter writing campaigns by members of the right wing society.

### Hoover Hits 'Vigilantes'

The most caustic criticism centered around the society's founder, Robert Welch, who has called former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and other prominent Americans Communists.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover spoke out Friday against "reckless charges" and "vigilante ac-



Dodd

Kuchel

tion" in a signed editorial in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin.

Hoover did not mention the Birch society, and FBI spokesmen declined comment on whether the society was an intended target. Hoover wrote:

"The job of curtailing and containing communism is one for legally constituted authorities with the steadfast co-operation of every loyal citizen."

"This is neither the time for action nor vigilante action."

"Attributing every adversity

Turn to page 4, column 1

# Birch Society Under Attack

## Lawmakers Lash Out

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to communism is not only irrational, but contributes to hysteria and fosters groundless fears...

Senator Dodd (Dem., Conn.) said he would ask the senate internal security subcommittee to investigate the society and its leaders. Dodd joined Senator Kuchel (Rep., Calif.) in denouncing the organization in the senate.

### Hits 'Fantastic Libel'

Kuchel pointed out that Welch called Eisenhower "a card-carrying Communist" and that this was "a fantastic and incredible libel."

"Good God," Kuchel said, "should the American people permit this kind of spleen to be poured on a man who has dedicated his whole life to freedom?" He said Chief Justice Earl Warren was "another great American" the society has tried to besmirch.

Dodd said Welch's charges against Eisenhower, Warren, former Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and others were "an affront to both decency and intelligence."

### Admits Membership

Meanwhile, Representative Hiestand (Rep., Calif.) acknowledged that he belonged to the Birch society.

Hiestand said other members of congress probably were too, but he felt that they should have the right to decide for themselves whether to acknowledge this.

As for himself, Hiestand said, "I'm not ashamed to admit that I'm one of them." Hiestand said, "I don't endorse everything the society stands for, but the big 99% of its program is intense patriotism and anticommunism."

He said he would welcome an investigation of the group.

Before talking with reporters, Hiestand had a telephone conversation with Welch.

Hiestand said growing criticism of the group by newspapers and public figures was part of a "pro-Communist smear" and was proof of the society's success in fighting communism.

He said he couldn't identify any Communists among those who were criticizing the society.

"But they are in the background of the smear," he said.

Hiestand said he didn't agree with Welch's view that Warren should be impeached. "There are more important things for congress to do," he said. "For example, we ought to bring out the evils and pitfalls in the depressed areas and minimum wage legislation."



Hiestand

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# Birch an FBI

## Pigeon

**FRANK  
CONNIFF**

*Hearst Headline Service  
Special to the Sentinel*

The timely warning of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that "vigilante action" by irresponsible organizations can do more harm than good in combating communism in America should put a crimp in the burgeoning activities of the John Birch Society.

Hoover speaks from a lifetime of experience when he inveighs against groups which callously smear patriotic Americans in their misguided attempts to inject their own prejudices into the ideological struggle.

What is frequently forgotten about the FBI is that it keeps an eye cocked on neo-Nazi and fascist organizations as well as on communist fronts. This reporter happens to know that the FBI has taken a dim view of the John Birch Society for

quite some time now and has its agents in the proper places to maintain surveillance over its activities.

From what one can learn of the inner structure of the John Birch outfit, its table of organization resembles nothing so much as the prospectus of the Ku Klux Klan when it was gathering strength in the 1920s.

It can be taken for granted that eventually it will reveal itself as an anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic movement. This trend is clear insofar as the anti-Catholic philosophy is concerned by the words in which its founder refers to our President, John F. Kennedy.

Here is what Robert Welch, founder of the organization, thinks of President Kennedy, wartime hero, dedicated public servant and devoted Catholic:

"You will usually find him in church on Sunday, maybe even in a Catholic church," writes Welch.

We take it that this passes for great wit in the Birch society. One can just visualize the members doubled up in laughter at the merry gulp of the Fuehrer. He continues:

"Such an amoral man can do a tremendous amount of ball-carrying on behalf of the communist aims here in the United States. And he can do an almost equal amount of damage to anti-communist morale in other parts of the world."

President Kennedy, then an obscure naval lieutenant, should have been thinking of Welch's ultimate judgment when he was risking his life in enemy-infested waters to save his comrades.

As if the warning by Hoover

weren't enough, we would think the words of Sen. Dodd of Connecticut would be the clincher in deterring anyone misled by the Birch society's alleged anti-communism.

Sen. Dodd is on the firing line to such an extent that he has been willing to make himself the pigeon for the anti-communists in his fight to pinpoint the Kremlin's moves with some degree of precision.

The smear campaign of the John Birch Society has turned his stomach, as it must that of all right-thinking Americans. Sen. Dodd calls the society an "affront to decency and intelligence" and is demanding a congressional investigation of its activities.

It must be assumed that some people who join the John Birch Society do so from good motives, as apart from the organizers, who have their own

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

4/1/61

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anti-American, anti-Semitic,  
anti-Catholic ends in view.

It is to be hoped that the warnings of eminent citizens like FBI Director Hoover, Sen. Dodd and other people who really understand the realities of the anti-communist battle will give pause to anyone inclined to accept the leadership of frauds like Welch.

There is something ironic in the conceit of the John Birch Society that it is a "secret" organization. If there be anyone reading this who belongs to the outfit, I would advise him to be very discreet in what he says at the next "secret" meeting.

The FBI is not merely an anti-communist organization; it is anti-subversive and that means it watches fascist, nazi, communist and all anti-American groups.

# Welch: Didn't Call Ike a Card Carrying Red

**Birch Leader Ignores His Book's Depiction of Ex-President as 'Dedicated Agent'**

Belmont, Mass.—A. Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch society, said Friday that he never called former President Eisenhower a "card carrying Communist." His denial came as criticism mounted around the rightist organization. Some congressmen have demanded an investigation of the society, but thus far none is planned.

No one has accused Welch of calling Eisenhower a card-carrying Communist. However, in a privately published book, Welch described the former president as a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." He has not disavowed the book, which also criticizes the former president's brother, Milton Eisenhower, former Presidents Truman and Roosevelt, and the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as "tools of communism."



Welch

## Here's What Book Says

Welch, a 61 year old retired candy manufacturer, said he never viewed former President Eisenhower as a Red agent. "I never had that opinion," he said. "I never thought it then with firmness enough to publish it or to say it in public and I don't today."

Welch's denial that he ever called Eisenhower a "card carrying Communist" was in answer to a reporter's question at the society's headquarters here.

The question was prompted by a statement in a book, "The Politician," published by Welch for limited circulation. It said:

"But my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt."

## Calls Milton Smarter

The book also said: "In my opinion, the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior boss within the Communist party. For one thing, he is obviously a great deal smarter."

"The Politician" is not to be confused with the so-called "Blue Book," a 182 page loose leaf bible of the society. The "Blue Book" defines the society's purposes and is sent to members when they join.

Asked about his written statements on Truman, Roosevelt and Dulles, Welch said:

"They were being used by the Communists—I never said they were Communists and I don't say it now."

He said "The Politician" originally was a "private confiden-

tial letter" he sent only to a few friends. He said they asked for copies to be sent to others.

"I kept adding it (the letters) and got more requests," he said, "and the letter eventually grew to 80,000 words. That is why the letter came to be called a book."

He said the letter was read by most of the men who founded the rightist Birch society in 1958 and was "specifically dis-

avowed by the group as being no part of the material of belief of the John Birch society in any way."

The interview with Welch took place after he issued a prepared statement "offered as an effort to pierce . . . some of the incredible fog of falsehood now being so widely circulated about me."

He said:

"Our only crime is fighting communism and that we intend to do until our side wins."

## Congressman Admits Tie

Meanwhile, in San Marino, Calif., Representative John R. Rousselot (Rep., Calif.) admitted that he had been a member of the Birch society since last September.

Members of the society, he said, study and learn about communism. "They have become concerned about the Communist conspiracy," Rousselot said, "and this is what hurts the Communists."

Rousselot was the second member of congress to admit that he was a member of the right wing group. Earlier another California Republican, Representative Edgar W. Hiestand said he belonged.

Hiestand attacked criticism of the Birch society as "a pro-Communist smear."

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## *Excerpts From Welch's Manuscript*

others like him at Johns Hopkins. In my opinion, the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party. For one thing he is obviously a great deal smarter.

Arthur Dean. Allen Dulles is the most protected and untouchable supporter of Communism, next to Eisenhower himself, in Washington.

of his conduct. But my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt.

*Excerpts from a privately distributed manuscript, "The Politician," written by Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society. These quotations are from a third draft made some time after August, 1956.*



# Why Is Rep. Walter Afraid To Investigate John Birch Society?

IT IS no surprise to note that Rep. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has rejected a request from Rep. Henry Reuss of Milwaukee to investigate the John Birch Society.

Rep. Walter isn't going to investigate a group which has been a staunch pillar of support for the wretched work of the Committee he heads.

The HUAC chairman can't see anything un-American about a secret society headed by a man who believes that democracy is a "perennial fraud" or that ex-President Eisenhower is a Communist.

His attitude is further evidence that the chief test of un-Americanism for HUAC is whether one is for or against the Committee.

J. EDGAR HOOVER, who praised the late Sen. McCarthy as a great American and more recently intervened in an election to save one of McCarthy's supporters—Sen. Mundt of South Dakota—has been careful not to say anything critical of the Birch cult. Sen. Milton Young (R-N. D.), who has been attacked by the cult, demanded a statement from Hoover as to whether he endorsed the group or its activities, as has been reported.

He emphatically denied the report, but he significantly refrained from saying anything critical of the group, its beliefs and activities.

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), who heads the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, says he is "happy to state that it seems to be, from our records, a patriotic organization." Eastland, of course, would be greatly in sympathy with the cult's number one aim of impeaching Chief Justice Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court.

WHY should this group be protected? If it is a "patriotic" organization, as Sen. Eastland says, it may have some information about ex-President Eisenhower and his brother Milton that should be made known to the public. If the Central Intelligence Agency is headed by a Communist, the public should know about it.

Surely, these people who support HUAC so passionately cannot be utterly without responsibility. Among its members are three former heads of the National Association of Manufacturers, two of them prominent Republicans from Wisconsin—William Grede, Milwaukee industrialist, and Cola Parker of

The Capital Times  
Madison, Wisconsin  
April 4, 1961  
Wm. T. Evjue, Editor

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Neenah.

Another member is T. Coleman Andrews, former head of the Internal Revenue Service under President Eisenhower and a candidate for president on the splinter group ticket in 1956. Another, Spruille Braden, is former ambassador to Argentina.

When men like this give their names to a movement which peddles the doctrine that a president of the United States for two terms is a Communist they ought to be allowed to explain what they are talking about and to be questioned concerning it.

Let them go under oath and prove their charges.

What is Walter afraid of?

[REDACTED]  
April 1, 1961

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

After reading your book "Masters of Deceit", I was quite alarmed to find the threat to our country from within. Consequently I searched for more material. I read more books, a numerous amount of pamphlets including Congressional Records. After this I made a point of attending seminars on Communism, listening to [REDACTED] Herb Philbrick and various well known speakers.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation I felt I had to take an active part to combat it. I joined a study group sponsored by John Birch Society. After weeks of listening to tapes, seeing films and acquiring more reading material, I became a member of the Society.

Less than a year ago, the John Birch Society was attacked by our local press. The statement was made that the law enforcement agencies were concerned with this organization. A radio commentator said this was a distortion of facts. After an inquiry with the local police and local F. B. I. office, the commentator said, that these agencies were satisfied that this organization was not in any way a threat to Americanism but in fact a patriotic organization.

In this morning's newspaper I read an article that states you say this society is anti-catholic, anti-semitic, anti-American. What has caused this about face?

The chapter that I belong to is 90% Catholic. We pause for a silent prayer for a Communist soul before the meeting starts. Nothing we have done or plan to do is anti-semitic or anti-American. But now I found myself in sudden doubt. Am I to live with evil or do I continue to crusade against it? You owe it to me and my fellow Americans who are fighting to keep our freedom a complete investigation and public report on the John Birch Society. The situation is too critical for anything but the truth.

Yours truly  
[REDACTED]

RTW/ec

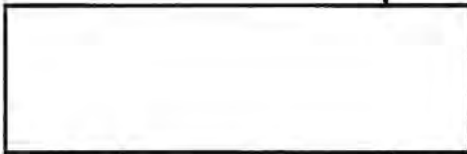
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April 5, 1961



Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of April 1 and do appreciate the interest which prompted your communication.

With respect to your inquiry, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In light of the foregoing, you may be assured that neither I nor any representative of this Bureau has ever made a statement or recommendation concerning the organization about which you asked.

In addition, information in the files of the FBI is confidential and available only for official use, pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. It would, therefore, be impossible for me to have an investigation conducted as you requested and then subsequently publicize the results. I am certain you will understand the reason I cannot accede to your desire that I initiate such action. I am enclosing a statement of mine which you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

① Milwaukee - Enclosure

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John Birch  
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## Tries to Swell Birch Forces

### Society Aide Seeks New Members at a Meeting in Home

A paid organizer for the conservative John Birch society tried Sunday night to recruit members at a meeting in a private home in Greenfield.

David Harmon, 25, of 2400 W. Hilltop lane, Oak Creek, said he began recruiting members about six months ago when he was named co-ordinator for Illinois and Wisconsin.

He did not say who assigned him to the task or whether his attempt to recruit new members Sunday was successful. About 20 persons attended the affair.

The meeting was scheduled after a Greenfield resident found periodicals of the Young Communist league in an empty home he was considering buying. The house hunter contacted Harmon, who asked if he could show a movie and make some remarks at the private gathering. Harmon received permission.

Harmon showed a two hour film lecture of Robert Welch, Belmont, Mass., the society's founder, who has described former President Eisenhower as a dedicated Communist agent.

Harmon said he welcomed an investigation of the organization, as had been suggested by several congressmen. He added that it was unfair to judge the society by the private beliefs of its founder.

Asked how many persons belonged to the society in Illinois and Wisconsin, Harmon declined to answer.

He explained that it was not good strategy to reveal membership figures at this time. He added, however, that recruiting in the two states had been "well ahead" of other sections of the country.

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## Birch Unit Is Assailed Pastor Is Critical

The John Birch society was described as "wolves clothed in the sheep's clothing of superficial patriotism" by the Rev. William F. Edge in his sermon Sunday at Plymouth Congregational church, 2717 E. Hampshire st.

Mr. Edge said American ideals, values and faith were "part and parcel of the universalism that for 19 centuries triumphed over the paganism that challenged the ethic and teaching of Christianity."

### "Weapon of Evil"

"Unfortunately," he said, "there are some among us who stupidly and naively believe they can appropriate the weapon of evil to fight a battle for truth. There are some among us who are afraid of freedom, who do not dare to allow the free exchange of ideas in the market place of inquiry."

"There are some, like the John Birch society, who are wolves clothed in the sheep's clothing of superficial patriotism. There are many among us who believe that communism can be conquered by a strengthened reactionism."

"But there are also many who have taken the time to discover the lessons of history. There are some among us who to some extent have been able to separate the important from the unimportant, the transient from the permanent, the real from the unreal."

### Can't Find All Answers

"There are some who grasp the notion that the real contest, the real battle that must be fought is the eternal one of hammering out abiding answers within the context of our time to the question of what is the meaning of existence, and what is the faith by which a man and his world shall live."

Mr. Edge said it was too much to expect that men could find all the answers in our time, "but we must find an answer to the complacent optimism of those who pin their hopes on the miracles of technology."

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# Priest Belittles Might of Communists in US

## Rightist Extremists Diverting Attention From Bigger, Out- side Threat, He Says

By Religious News Service  
New York, N. Y. — One of America's top Roman Catholic priest-sociologists warns that the present danger of communism is external, not domestic, and that "exclusive concentration upon domestic communism would be helping, not hurting, whatever plans Moscow or Peking have."

Writing in America, national Catholic weekly published here, Father John F. Cronin, assistant director of the department of social action, National Catholic Welfare conference, underscored his warning by saying:

"It has become increasingly clear that anti-Communist activities are producing sharp divisions within our nation."

In this connection, he cited opposition to the house committee on un-American activities and to the film "Operation Abolition," "the flood of national publicity on the John Birch society," the "rash of inquiries" about the Cardinal Mindszenty Forum, and "numerous reports of an intense campaign to discredit the Foreign Policy association."

### 1959 Editorial Reprinted

Appearing in the same issue of America was an editorial comment which complained that "today, noisy and reckless right wing groups among us are busy pounding divisive wedges into American society and the resulting divisions can easily be exploited by our enemy."

America also reproduced an editorial in which, nearly two years ago, it voiced concern over "the preoccupation of

some Catholics with our domestic Communists."

"Too often," the editorial said, "this preoccupation is accompanied by coolness toward NATO, by hostility toward foreign aid, by complaints about taxes, by opposition to desegregation, even by defeatist fears of Communist infiltration of Catholic schools and other Catholic organizations."

Father Cronin said the Communist party had been "drastically weakened" in the last 10 years, yet "it is astonishing that well financed movements exist today to fight" it.

On the other hand, he stated, the external Communist threat is so serious "that many competent observers feel that the next 10 years may be decisive."

There is, he stressed, "a distinct possibility that, within a decade, the entire southern hemisphere may be substantially within the Communist camp."

### Red Fade-Out Claimed

Father Cronin said that "during the 'united front' period," beginning in 1935 and concluding with the Korean war, Communist penetration in such areas as labor, education, government, entertainment and communications was quite serious.

But at present, he stated, only a very few Communist front groups are active, Communist influence in the labor movement is negligible, and "except for attempted espionage operations controlled by foreign Communist governments, there is no evidence of current Communist penetration into government or the armed forces."

The priest strongly scored "organized reprisals" meant while against individuals or groups charged with having been affiliated with alleged Communist front organizations, despite the fact that "it is not merely a matter of Christian forgiveness not to judge a man today for views and connections held 15 or 20 years ago," but in many areas a matter of "elementary justice." He noted that "hundreds of thousands of Americans have been duped by Communist fronts and causes."

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# Grede's Birch Beliefs Incensed Eisenhower

## Ike Was Prepared to Remove Milwaukee Industrialist From Advisory Post

By LAURENCE C. ERLUND  
Journal Washington Bureau

Washington, D. C.—President Eisenhower was incensed last summer when he learned that William J. Grede, Milwaukee industrialist, was a member of the council of the John Birch society, it was learned Saturday.

The president decided to remove Grede as a management member at labor-management "summit" meetings sponsored by Eisenhower, but was dissuaded from doing so.

The matter was brought to Eisenhower's attention by James P. Mitchell, then secretary of labor, who showed the president articles about the John Birch society that identified Grede as a member. The Milwaukee Journal published the articles last July.

What caused the president to hit the ceiling was a published quotation from a book by Robert Welch, John Birch society founder, calling Eisenhower a dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy and his brother, Milton, the president's superior in the Communist party.

### Controversy Feared

In talking the president out of removing Grede, Mitchell reportedly argued that he wanted to protect the "summit" conferences from controversy.

As an alternative, it was reported, Eisenhower telephoned Frederick H. Mueller, then secretary of commerce, and scolded him for recommending the appointment of Grede, a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

As it turned out, the labor-management "summit" conferences, aimed at promoting industrial peace, fizzled.

Union leaders blamed the failure largely on the choice of "second string" management representatives who, they felt, lacked the necessary stature.

Labor's representatives were leading figures: George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; and George K. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

They had expected to meet with comparable leaders from industry but instead found

ments of "medium sized" companies. Grede is president of the J. I. Case Co., Racine, and board chairman of Grede Foundation meeting with presidents, Milwaukee.

The labor officials criticized the choice of Grede on the ground that workers at the Case plant, members of Reuther's union, were then on strike. They said the company's president did not qualify under Eisenhower's statement that industry representatives would come from firms with union negotiated contracts.

### Grede Disagreed

The Journal quoted Grede last July as saying he did not think Eisenhower was a Communist.

Later, in a letter to key salaried employees of Grede Foundation, Grede explained that when Welch in 1955 read to him from his book, "The Politician," he (Grede) indicated he could not believe that Eisenhower was a Communist. In fact, wrote Grede, he campaigned hard for Eisenhower in 1956 and raised money in Wisconsin for his re-election.

In a speech on the house floor last week attacking the John Birch society, Representative Reuss (Dem., Milwaukee) charged that the society drew significant support from wealthy industrialists who should know better.

### Likened to Nazis

What the society is up to, Reuss told the house, "sounds ominously like what the Nazis once were up in Germany."

"Hitler's principal sources of funds for his drive to power in 1930-33 were such leading industrialists as Fritz Thyssen of steel, Emil Kirdorf of coal, von Schnitzler of the chemical industry and von Schroeder of banking," Reuss said.

Similarly playing on fears of communism, the Birch society has studied its ranks with corporation presidents, board chairman, and two past presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers.

That last referred to Grede and Cola G. Parker, of Neenah, Wis., also a John Birch council member who is a former president of NAM as well as of the Kimberly-Clark Co.

"To its credit, the National Association of Manufacturers has officially repudiated the Birch society," said Reuss.

Since taking a stand against the society, Reuss has been flooded with mail from its adherents.

Bernie P. Kaub of Madison

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wrote Reuss that his statements besmirching "the society" top all efforts of those seeking to curry Kremlin favor through utterances of puerile pettishness and putrid pettifoggery.

Kaub accused Reuss of "abysmal ignorance of the nature of the federal government and the Constitution which it operates," winding up with this clincher:

"By your asinine remarks you have shamed the loyal citizens of Wisconsin and most particularly the citizens of the district who elected you to represent them."

"I am sure that only a tiny fraction of them wish to be represented by a man who rushes too quickly to obey Communists' pleasure that he does not stop to take time to read the Constitution, and who is willing to vilify those of his constituents and all other Americans who seek to repeal the advance of our enemy, the Communist hordes."



Post Office Box 663  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
April 19, 1961



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Dear 

Thank you very much for your letter of April 16, 1961. I wish I might be of assistance to you, but the function of the FBI as a fact gathering agency does not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication.

While I am unable to comment upon the contents of your communication, I certainly appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

Yours very truly,

*AK*

Ralph R. Roach  
Special Agent in Charge

JDP:mcs  
MI 100-13570  
(2) *[initials]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

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APRIL 16, 1961.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

517 E. WISCONSIN AVE.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

DEAR SIRs:

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I HAVE A SINCERE DESIRE TO COMBAT COMMUNISM THE BEST WAY I CAN, AND SO I AM ORGANIZING A CARDINAL MINDSZENTY STUDY GROUP IN MY PARISH OF ST. FLORIAN'S ON 45TH. AND SCOTT STREET. HOWEVER, I WISH TO BE BETTER INFORMED POLITICALLY, AND, SINCE I DON'T FEEL I CAN TRUST OUR LOCAL PRESS, I HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING PRIVATELY SUPPORTING THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, I HAVE READ SUCH CONTRADICTIONS IN BOTH LOCAL AND CATHOLIC PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THIS SOCIETY THAT I HAVE DECIDED TO TRUST ONLY YOUR ADVICE AND THAT OF OUR ARCHBISHOP. I FEEL EXTREME MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN TO EXPELL COMMUNISM FROM

100-13570-31

AMERICA BECAUSE THERE IS SO MUCH TO CORRECT  
AND SO LITTLE TIME TO DO IT. I DO NOT  
EXPECT YOU TO PROMOTE THE BIRCH SOCIETY, BUT  
ONLY WANT TO KNOW IF IT IS IN ANY WAY  
CONSIDERED UN-AMERICAN TO JOIN. I KNOW YOU  
HAVE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT PROBLEMS THAN  
THIS, BUT I WOULD DEEPLY VALUE YOUR ADVICE  
IN THIS MATTER IF YOU CAN SPARE THE TIME  
TO ANSWER. THANK YOU AND MAY GOD BLESS  
YOUR EFFORTS TO PROTECT US.

VERY TRULY YOURS.

b6  
b7c

# State GOP Is Divided on Birch Society Probe

**Some Feel Air Would Be Cleared by Such Action, Others Call It Waste of Time**

By KENNETH E. FRY  
Of The Journal Staff

Wisconsin Republican leaders are split on whether there should be a congressional investigation of the far right wing John Birch society.

Those who favor one think either that the society has received unfair publicity or that the public should have more facts about it. Others either think that it would be a waste of time or prefer to leave the decision to congress.

One of the most ardent supporters of an investigation, which the society itself has requested, is Edward S. Friend, the 5th congressional district GOP chairman.

## "Air Ought to Be Cleared"

"I think the air ought to be cleared," Friend said Saturday. "Some of the very loosely thrown adjectives and implications used in connection with the group bother me."

Friend said he knew well meaning people who were members of the society and others he suspected of being members.

Some Republicans claimed that they knew Democrats involved in the society, although they conceded that it attracted mostly those of Republican background or leaning.

All of those interviewed denied being members of the society.

Friend said the society was entitled to an investigation.

"Since so much attention has been given to a group of well meaning people, perhaps the American public deserves the facts put before them objectively and clearly," he said, adding that he admired the study programs of the society.

## Sees Some Value in Society

"In my opinion a man's judgment can be no better than his knowledge and I feel this is one area where the John Birch society is contributing to our society," he said.

Friend was the only Repub-

lican interviewed who did not deplore charges by Robert Welch, founder of the society, that such persons as President Eisenhower and the late John Foster Dulles were Communist agents. Society members have taken issue with the charges.

## Also Favors Probe

"I really don't know," Friend said of Welch's charges. "I am not well enough informed. I haven't delved into the background of these people. Very frankly, there are some things they have done that I don't agree with."

Friend's 4th congressional district counterpart, Arthur Graff, also favored an investigation.

"I don't believe in undercover work," he said. "Let's get it out in the open so that people can have an opinion." Graff de-

clined to take a stand on the society.

Claude J. Jasper of Madison, the GOP state chairman, said he had noticed little society activity in Wisconsin. He added: "I'm opposed to all radical groups, right or left. My own reaction is that anyone interested in more conservative government can find adequate expression in the Republican party."

While Jasper said he would have no objection to an investigation of the society, he complained that it had received more criticism than some far left groups.

"It seems when someone becomes ultraconservative he is subject to more criticism than when he becomes ultraliberal," he said.

Lt. Gov. Warren Knowles of New Richmond said he knew

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little about the society or its aims.

"I am unalterably opposed to extremism, however, which is apparently advocated by the Birch society," he said. "I think people sometimes confuse conservatism with turning back the clock."

Knowles doubted that a congressional investigation would accomplish much.

The 1960 Republican candidate for governor, Philip G. Kuehn, said that all he knew about the society was what he had read in the newspapers. He said that he would have no objection to a congressional investigation of the society, but that it was something for congress to decide.

Kuehn's onetime opponent for the gubernatorial nomination and possible opponent again in 1962, Jack Olson of Wisconsin Dells, could not be reached for comment.

#### Dittmore "Has His Doubts"

Ray H. Dittmore of South Milwaukee, an unsuccessful candidate for the GOP nomination for United States senator in 1958, said he had his doubts about the society, although he did not know much about it.

"I don't ever quite agree with the idea of following one man (Welch)," he said. "That doesn't set well with me, although I think it's possible that the society is trying to do the right thing."

Dittmore said he doubted that a congressional investigation would be worth while.

Sam Hay, the new Republican county chairman, said he thought that the society was "really a reflection of the fact that there is a deep concern in

this country about communism — a concern that really has had no way to express itself."

"But," he added, "I certainly don't agree with Welch's thought that Eisenhower was a dedicated Communist."

#### Doubts Value of Probe

Hay said he did not know whether a congressional investigation would accomplish much.

Two members of the Republican state executive committee strongly urged an investigation, saying that society members were dedicated anti-Communists.

"I think their purpose is noble and well to put in front of the public," said Mrs. Byron Ising of Oshkosh, the GOP national committeewoman from Wisconsin. "But I would rather see those people in the Republican party."

"I feel the American people are entitled to know more about it (the society)," said Mrs. Norris Krohn, also of Oshkosh, state vice-chairman.

Both women said they could not agree with many of Welch's statements.

## **Courageous Men**

*To the Sentinel:*

Thank God for courageous columnists like Westbrook Pegler and Jack Lottó and their articles, "N. Y.-D. C. Lead Ridicule on John Birch Society," and "New Commie Rot Aimed at Anti-Reds," carried, recently in your paper.

Thank God, for a newspaper which is not afraid to publish such articles.

Why is it so many of our intellectuals will make every excuse for those following the communist line, but will immediately tear down those who are trying to do something about the communist menace? "They agree that the menace is worse today than ever before in history; they agree that most people are deaf, dumb and blind in respect to it; however, they always disagree on the method of combating it."

Quoting your April 15 issue: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." — Edmund Burke

~~MRS. GERALD~~  
~~PLUNKETT~~  
1002 7th Av.,  
Menominee, Mich.

Milwaukee Sentinel  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
May 2, 1961  
Geo. A. Tracy, Managing  
Editor  
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## Welch to Speak Here at 8 p.m.

Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch society, will speak at 8 p.m. Friday at the Antlers hotel.

Donald Rueber, midwest representative of the society, said that Welch was sponsoring his own meeting on behalf of American Opinion, the magazine which Welch publishes at Belmont, Mass.

Tickets are \$1 each.

Rueber said that the tickets were being sold only by "invitation" but would not say flatly that purchasers would be turned away. He said Welch would not talk to newspapermen and that picture taking would be limited to a five minute period before the speech.

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## Shun Birch, Doctors Told Magazine's Advice

The State Medical Society of Wisconsin has urged doctors in an editorial in its medical journal to "shun the John Birch society and its front organizations like the plague."

The editorial appeared in the June issue of the Wisconsin Medical Journal, official publication of the state medical society. It was written by Dr. David N. Goldstein, Kenosha, the magazine's editorial director.

The editorial said that "the information that prominent medical men in several communities have associated themselves with the John Birch society causes dismay and consternation among doctors of sense and perception."

### A "Sick Sensation"

Viewed as a fragment of the lunatic fringe, the John Birch

society may seem more ridiculous than worthy of concern," the editorial said. "But what this group and its wealthy leader and founder, Robert Welch, stand for will produce a sick sensation in the stomach of every patriotic American."

The editorial said that the Birch society urged "all the methods the Communists themselves use," and that the society regarded democracy as a "weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud."

It described the Birch society's founders as "cloaked with a phony respectability and supported by big money."

### Antidemocratic, Claim

"That a few medical men who, of all people, should have a sense of balance and be perceptive to social disruption for ulterior motives, are members of the John Birch society or its affiliates is a disgrace to the entire profession," the editorial said.

"There is room in our democracy for difference of opinion, and as a nation we exercise our right to dissent almost to the point of license. But there is no

room for the betrayal of our ideals, and the John Birch society is an avowed opponent of the democratic ideal expressed in a republican form of government.

"... The John Birch society is antidemocratic. Its theme is hate, its method disruption. Like the Nazi party in Germany, it uses anticommunism as a tool to establish a totalitarian America.

"Hunting traitors, Communist or any kind, is the business of the department of justice and the FBI. Over the years these organizations have done their job well—far better than local loud mouths who look for Communist propaganda in Girl Scout handbooks and found enemy agents where none existed."

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MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

6/18/61



# 'US Is Leading Agent of Reds, Welch Says

## Birch Society's Head Talks to 1,000 Here; Backs Methods Used by McCarthy

The United States government "has been the most powerful single force supporting the advance of communism around the world," Robert W. Welch, founder of the right wing John Birch society, said here Friday night.

Welch charged that United States policies, including foreign aid, had helped the Communist cause although they had been advertised as weapons against communism.

"Communists have been heavily influencing all the major decisions of our government since 1941," he said in an hour and a half speech to about 1,000 enthusiastic followers at the Antlers hotel.

Welch came here to raise money for his magazine, American Opinion. He refused to talk to reporters, but agreed to pose for pictures with William J. French, chairman of the board of Radio-Television, Inc., and chairman and president of the J. I. Case Co., Racine.

### Doesn't Name Names

Grede is a member of the Birch society's national council. He said he had met Welch when both were board members of the National Association of Manufacturers. Grede added that they had "locked arms, joined hands and touched shoulders in the battle for freedom."

Welch's talk was interrupted about a dozen times by applause.

"At least 98% of all the employees of our federal government are loyal and patriotic Americans," he said. "But the main point is not how many (Communists and pro-Communists) there are but where they are."

Welch claimed that key places were occupied by "comsymps," whom he defined as Communists or Communist sympathizers. He did not name names.

### Explains "Reversal Principal"

A major theme of Welch's talk was his so-called "principle of reversal," which he maintained was a Communist technique to lead the American public into apparently anti-Communist actions which in reality serve Communist ends.

"The Communists have now reached the point where they can count on just as much control of the whole United Nations structure as they need," he said. "So the most important remaining task in this connection is to pull the United States more completely into the net."

"The way to do that is to convince the American people that the United Nations in general and Dag Hammarskjold in particular are doing something the Soviets don't want them to do." Welch termed Communist attacks on Hammarskjold, UN secretary general, "a farce."

### Catch Phrases Cited

The "principle of reversal" was explained by Welch in other examples which he termed "conquest by catch phrase."

Welch said that in 1940 a popular catch phrase was "I can't stand Roosevelt but we must support him because of his foreign policy."

In 1952, he said, the catch phrase was "I like left, but we can't win." Welch said that the late Republican senator from Ohio had become president, he would have "set the Communists back a whole generation."

### Backs McCarthy's Methods

Welch said the catch phrase in 1954 was "I like what McCarthy is trying to do, but I can't stand his methods." Welch said the late Republican senator from Wisconsin was attacked unfairly for his anti-Communist campaign "just as the same nonsense is being peddled about the John Birch society today."

Basically, and with very few exceptions, there is nothing wrong with the methods from the point of

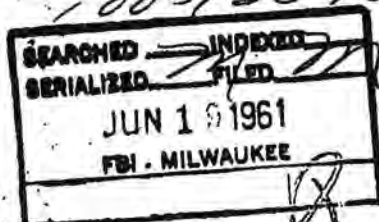
of a patriotic American," Welch said.

Welch answered questions from the audience for 15 minutes after his talk. The only argument came when Edward T. Heisler, a member of the Socialist Workers party, asked a long question and Welch replied:

"Young man, if you want to make a speech you go hire a hall. We have paid for this one."

In introducing Welch, Grede said the 61 year old retired candy manufacturer had given up "his entire life, energy and his money" to fight communism.

Grede said he was proud to be a member of the society's national council.



MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

6/17/61

# Birch Role Is Assailed

## Group's Sympathizers Took Over Student Club, Teacher Says

A professor charged Thursday night that John Birch society sympathizers recently took over the International Student club of the International Institute.

Manuel Gottlieb, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, said the Birch elements mobilized for an election meeting of the student club and won the election. Mrs. Sidney Peck, staff adviser of the club, commented that Gottlieb's charges could not be documented.

"There was a power struggle in the club," she said, "and a new group took over. It would be hard to describe the group."

### "Conservative Talk"

"There has been considerable conservative talk in the club, but it was introduced by American adults who work with the group. Naturally, foreign students in the club are not against such things as foreign aid. Opposition to such things has come from Americans in the group. The club has about 25 members."

Gottlieb talked at a meeting of the Public Enterprise committee at the Milwaukee Turners club, 1304 N. 4th st.

He also said Birch elements were trying to take over Young Republican units.

### "Had to Be Vigilant"

"I spoke at a Young Republican meeting," he said, "and I noticed the efforts made by young people who seem to have John Birch aims. I talked to Young Republican officials, and they confirmed that the John Birch elements composed about one-fourth of their membership. They said they had to be vigilant to make sure of majority membership, attending meetings."

At the PEC meeting, Gottlieb supported a resolution introduced by former Mayor Frank Zeidler condemning the John Birch society and other groups with extremist views, who oppose democracy and would substitute totalitarianism.

### Alarmed, Zeidler Says

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the 25 persons attending the meeting.

Zeidler said he was alarmed by a recent meeting here at which 1,000 persons attended to hear a speech by Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch society.

Zeidler defended Welch's right to speak but said he opposed Welch for misreading and misquoting history.

*John Birch Society Mtl  
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## Who Needs It?

The controversial Birch Society is getting into deeper and hotter water.

The latest reported undertaking is the compilation of a list of millions of Americans whom it considers to be communist sympathizers, socialists and liberals.

In other words, the society's members and volunteers are being asked to inform on their neighbors to make charges and accusations based on hearsay, personal venom and spite.

This is a communist tactic, reminiscent of the repellent ideology current in Russia, red China and Cuba.

America has no need of this divisive maneuver of setting neighbor against neighbor. We can survive any internal communist threat to our freedom without stooping to such means.

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
July 11, 1961  
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# County YGOP May Air Plea to Bar Birch Group Members

**Shorewood Man Says  
Plan Would Prevent  
'Stigma'; Report by  
Professor Cited**

A proposal to bar members of the John Birch society from membership or office in the Young Republicans of Milwaukee County may be discussed at a county council meeting Monday night.

Phillip W. Gross, 4421 N. Murray av., Shorewood, said he had made the proposal in the form of a constitutional amendment "to eliminate any stigma that this is a John Birch group."

Gross said he was concerned that the county Young Republicans had received "bad publicity" when Manuel Gottlieb, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, said he had been told by Young Republican officials that the John Birch elements composed about one-fourth of their membership.

## Wrong Impression Seen

"A lot of people read that and got the impression that this is a John Birch type of organization and so they don't want anything to do with it," Gross said.

"If we put in the constitution that members of the John Birch society cannot be members or officers of the Young Republicans, we can tell these people that they eliminate any stigma that the organization has in my opinion now."

Gross' amendment would bar members of the Communist party, in addition to the John Birch society, from the Young Republican organization.

## "Same Methods" Used

He said he included the provision about Communists because "I consider the Communist party and the John Birch

society if the reports in the press are correct, to be using the same methods to undermine our democracy. I don't think there are any Communists in our organization."

Asked if he knew of any John Birch society members in the county Young Republican organization, Gross said, "I know of only one, definitely."

He named Raymond J. Annen, r. 23, of 2205 Terrace av., who is a 5th congressional district vice chairman of the Young Republicans, a member of the state executive committee and a delegate from the 3rd ward to the senior Milwaukee County volun-

tary committee of the Republican party.

"He's madder than a hornet at the constitutional amendment and he told me that he was going to bring 50 people to the meeting when it is voted on to see that it won't be passed," Gross said.

Asked for comment on Gross' statements, Annen confirmed that he is a member of the John Birch society. He said he "very definitely" opposed the part of the Gross amendment relating to John Birch members.

"I think it's time we start fighting Communists instead of

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## Birch Ban Proposed

From page 1, column 3

anti-Communists," Annen said. To be adopted, the amendment would have to be voted on by the membership of the Young Republicans.

"At one time," Annen said, "I thought it would be necessary to bring a few people, but because of the reaction of the majority of members that I have spoken to being opposed to it—the John Birch society part—there would be no need to stack a meeting. It would be beaten by the regular membership."

Annen said he would rather not say if he knew of others in the Young Republican organization who were John Birch members.

"I'm sure that when the time comes they'll be more than happy to reveal themselves," he said.

"But because of the pressure put on me by elements of the liberal leadership and some of the so-called conservatives, I can see why some members (of the John Birch society) would not reveal themselves."

"I'm not ashamed of being a member. I'm proud of it," he said.

Gross said he did not think

that his amendment had much chance of succeeding. He said he had been told that it would not even be discussed "if the press shows up" at the meeting. The county council meets at 7:30 p.m. Monday at county GOP headquarters, 719 N. Broadway.

Prof. Gottlieb, whose quoted remarks caused Gross concern, later wrote a letter to The Milwaukee Journal saying he did not intend to disparage the Young Republicans and that he had been told that the right wing element was a "small minority."

Birch, John

**Robert Welch Speaks  
to Allen-Bradley Men**

Robert Welch, founder of the ultraconservative John Birch Society, spoke Thursday at a private meeting of Allen-Bradley Co. salesmen at a resort near Genoa City (Walworth county). The meeting was part of a week long sales convention held at Nippersink Manor.

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## Bob Kennedy Flays Birchers, Defeatists

DALLAS, Texas, Nov. 15 (UPI) Att. Gen. Robert Kennedy said Wednesday he has no sympathy with right wing groups, defeatists and those who would rather be "red than dead."

Kennedy blasted the John Birch Society, The National Inquisition Convention and other rightwing organizations as "a tremendous danger" to the United States.

He told a press conference such groups are doing nothing to combat the principal danger of communism. Kennedy said espionage by Iron curtain country diplomats in the United States is the major threat, not the communist party.

"There is a tremendous dan-

ger in any group that seeks to undermine confidence in our government. The only communist the John Birchers have uncovered," he added jokingly, "is President Eisenhower."

In a speech to a meeting of managing editors, Kennedy said he has "no sympathy with those who are defeatists and who would rather be 'red than dead.'"

"Nor do I have any sympathy with those who, in the name of fighting communism, sow the seeds of suspicion and distrust by making false or irresponsible charges, not only against their neighbors but against courageous teachers and public officials and against the foundations of our government—Congress, the Supreme Courts and even the presidency itself," Kennedy said.

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
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**Birch Society:**

**What Are**

**Its Creed,**

**Goals?**

Milwaukee Sentinel  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 2/2/62  
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Managing Editor  
Milwaukee Office

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*VS*



## BY ROBERT J. RIORDAN

WHAT DOES ROBERT WELCH say of himself, and the John Birch Society which he founded?

Welch, who speaks here Saturday night at the Schroeder Hotel and Thursday at River Falls State College, spoke quite specifically about the aims and beliefs which have aroused so much controversy in recent years in the "Blue Book of the John Birch Society," a transcript of a two-day talk he made at the founding meeting in Indianapolis in December, 1958.

Many people would agree with some of the sentiments that appear in the Blue Book; many would eye askance some of the sweeping general statements it contains; and others would have the curious feeling that parts of the Blue Book were written by a critic or enemy rather than by Welch himself.

But right or wrong, agreeable or disagreeable, the Blue Book is pure Welch, unfiltered by either friendly or hostile opinion, and it is probably the most reliable source for those who truly want to know what Welch and the Birch Society are all about.

Here, in paraphrase or in quotes where indicated, are some answers to some questions as one might find them in the 1959 edition of the "Birch Bible."

### Q. What is the John Birch Society?

A. "The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body . . . (It) will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels . . . For the fight against communism which is the first great task of the society, it is imperative that all the strength we can muster be subject to smoothly functioning direction from the top . . . The men who join are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway . . . Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be

put out before they build up any splintering following in government or organization . . . democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud . . . We are out to get a million members truly dedicated to the things in which we believe."

### Q. What do you believe?

A. We believe in "less government, more responsibility, and a better world . . ." Some degree of government is necessary, but it is non-productive and tends to expand faster than the productive base which supports it. Government is frequently evil—not merely dishonest but criminal . . . Government is always and inevitably an enemy of individual freedom . . . Whatever government does must always cost more than if it could be done by individuals or smaller groups . . . By size, momentum and authority, government perpetuates errors of doctrine or policy, and multiplies effects of such errors on a geometric scale. As any society settles into pattern, a drive always begins to have government manage social enterprise rather than merely be its agent for certain clear purposes . . . As it increases in power, government tends to squeeze out the middle class, and destroy it for the benefit of the top and bottom classes . . . Form of government is not nearly as important as its quality, and neither form nor quality is as important as its quantity. The huge quantity of government, more than anything else, makes war not only possible but unavoidable.

"The communist believes that a collective society should swallow up all individuals and make their lives and their energies completely subservient to the needs and purposes of the collectivist state, and that any means are permissible to this end.

"The 'Americanist' believes that the individual should retain the freedom to make his own bargain with life, and the responsibility for the results of that bargain; and that means are as important as ends in the civilized social order he desires."

### Q. Do you intend to direct this movement personally?

A. "We simply are not going to be able to save our country from either the immediate threat of communism or the long-range threat of socialism by organizational leadership. Our only possible chance is dynamic personal

leadership . . . My study of the whole picture convinced me more and more that . . . with all of my own shortcomings there wasn't anybody else on the horizon willing to give their whole lives to the job with the determination and dedication I would put into it. If I didn't . . . I intend to offer that leadership to all who are willing to help me . . .

"There are ways of sizing up both individuals and organizations in this battle which come only with experience . . . and a feel for the way the communists work. I know . . . that I have a fairly sensitive and accurate nose in this area.

"The confusion and the problem will get steadily worse and the need for somebody who can simply say 'Help this guy, or let him help you but stay away from that one' is also going to increase."

**Q. How do you propose to use the Birch Society?**

A. "If I were the man on the white horse on our side in this war . . . if I had sufficient resources available and sufficiently accepted authority over one million dedicated supporters . . . so that I could coordinate the activities of those million men and women with some degree of positiveness and efficiency approaching the coordination by the communists of their members and fellow travelers . . . If, though recognized as the leader for the sake of positiveness of direction and coordination of effort and resources, I still had the dedicated advice, counsel, help, organizing ability and executive know-how offered by the ablest men

in America among the staunch anti-communists whom I could gather around me . . . here are some of the things I would do:

1. Establish reading rooms, stocked in nucleus with the 100 books reviewed in the January 1959 issue of American Opinion (Welch's magazine).
2. See that circulation of conservative periodicals is expanded.
3. Encourage use of radio programs like Fulton Lewis and Clarence Manion's.
4. Start organized use of "the powerful letter-writing weapon."
5. Organize fronts such as "The Committee for Withdrawal of Recognition" (of Russia).
6. Shock the American people with exposure of public figures as communists, via articles in American Opinion.
7. Set two or three-man truth squads on the trail of communist speakers, to confront them with questions on their background during question periods.
8. Organize our own large list of speakers.
9. "Have our body grow across national boundaries as soon as we properly could."
10. Put our weight into the political scales; give the Republican Party the kind of "outside" non-political help that COPE gives to the Democratic Party.

## Birch Society's Goal Is Argued in Debate

Is the John Birch society primarily an anti-Communist organization or does it seek merely a return to the laissez-faire, hands off, government of the 19th century?

A crowd of nearly 1,000 Marquette university students was pushed into Brooks Memorial Union Thursday night to hear the issue debated by an attorney, Norman Skogstad, and an MU philosophy professor, Richard J. Connell.

After two hours of debate and questions the student audience and the debaters went home with the issue well discussed but largely still in doubt.

Connell argued that the society was not primarily anti-Communist but only incidental, lay so because its main foe was big government in general. He read selections from the society's so-called Blue Book in an attempt to show that its author, Robert Welch, believed that government in any form was at best a necessary evil.

Skogstad accused Connell of quoting out of context. A large segment of the Blue Book is devoted to anti-communism, he stated.

He said the society had been very effective in alerting the public to the menace of com-

munism from within the United States.

Skogstad told the students to attend a meeting of the society to decide for themselves.

"I think it would be a credit to any one to be a member of the John Birch society," he said.

Connell charged that Skogstad was evading the real debate issue. "There is no evidence in the Blue Book that Robert Welch knows one single thing about communism," he said. "And if he wants to take an examination, I'll be glad to see that he gets one."

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# Birch Effect Against Reds Debated Before 1,000

About 1,000 Marquette University students and others crammed Brooks Memorial Union Thursday night to hear a debate, sponsored by the MU Young Republicans, on the proposal that the John Birch Society is not an anti-communist organization.

Dr. Richard J. Connell, MU philosophy professor, argued the Birch Society is only incidentally anti-communist since its main creed is anti-big government and pro-laissez-faire, the rugged individualist philosophy of the 19th Century.

## 3 SELECTIONS READ

He read three selections from the Birch Blue Book which emphasize the belief of Robert Welch, Birch founder, that government is "the enemy of man," and necessarily evil; and that quantity of government is so much to be abhorred that Welch would prefer a government of 300,000 thieves to one of 3 million honest public servants.

Atty. Norman Skogstad replied by inviting the audience to attend a Birch meeting to see that it "is the most effective anti-communist organization in America today, which has engaged in establishing reading rooms and distributing literature and films such as 'Operation Abolition' to educate the American public on the communist menace."

## SKIPPING ATTACKED

He criticized Dr. Connell for "skipping around" in the Blue Book and implied he had taken statements out of context. He pointed out the statement following Welch's preference for 300,000 thieves to 3 million honest servants:

"The first group would only steal from the American economic and political system; the second group would be bound in time to destroy it. The increasing quantity of government in all nations has constituted the greatest tragedy in the 20th Century."

In rebuttal, Dr. Connell said Skogstad had not met his point that the main emphasis of the Birch Society is on reducing government regulation and returning to uncontrolled individualism.

"I'm against unnecessarily big government, but who isn't?" said Dr. Connell. "The size of government should be proportionate to the needs of society, no bigger and no smaller. But you can't say it is evil, per se, as Welch does."

Organized communism is, in fact, "our greatest enemy today," Dr. Connell said, and Skogstad agreed with him — but they differed on where its principal threat exists.

Skogstad supported the Birch view that it is internal, claiming no Russian troops have been used in communist expansion. Dr. Connell held it is external, noting that no non-communist nation ever fell solely because of internal agents.

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# Welch Calls Young Socialist Club Welcome 'A Kind of Dirty Inversion'

RIVER FALLS, Wis., Feb. 8 (AP) The founder of the John Birch Society found a public example of what he calls the "principle of inversion" when the River Falls State College Young Socialist Club welcomed him to the campus.

Robert Welch was leaving an auditorium after delivering the convocation address to a college-sponsored conference on "The New Conservatism" in politics when a student called attention to a number of prominent posters.

The signs read: "We of the River College Young Socialist Club Welcome Mr. Welch of the John Birch Society, who through his brilliant satire is furthering our cause."

The student asked Welch whether he would autograph one of the posters bearing "our welcome to you."

"It's a kind of dirty inver-

sion," Welch said. "But I'll be glad to do it."

He did, signing with a flourish.

The principle of inversion, Welch contends, holds that communists may operate directly contrary to their apparent interests just to confuse the masses.

Welch's address to some 3,000 students, faculty members and guests of the conference was his copyrighted speech, "Republics and Democracies," in which he traces what he calls conspiratorial efforts to change the American Republic into a popular democracy to the rise of Fabian Socialism just after the turn of the century.

However, in a question and answer period after the address, Welch said in response to a question about what he would suggest to "restore the

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United States to a republic that he would reduce the quantity of government.

"This is the greatest tragedy of the 20th Century, this increasing quantity of government," Welch said. "It brings on wars. Do you think that if government there was in the world, that there would be a possibility of war?"

He was applauded when introduced and after he completed his talk. There were no incidents, except for the autographing of the Young Socialist poster.

Two Wisconsin lawmakers, a newspaper publisher and a businessman spoke at an afternoon forum of the conference.

They were, Assemblymen Robert Johnson, (R-Mondovi) and William W. Ward, (D-New Richmond); Curtis B. Gaylord, Balsam Lake, publisher of the Polk County Ledger; and Walter Butler, president of a St. Paul firm of architects and engineers.

Butler, who has travelled in Russia, held up a copy of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and said the "Birch" people seem to get a lot of their ideas from here—for instance the concept of leadership.

Ward drew applause when he remarked "even after listening to Mr. Welch I still say we have the best country on the face of the earth."

Johnson said that "labels mean different things to different people." He added that Welch, called a rightwing conservative, "would probably call

me a communist if he saw my voting record."

Gaylord said conservatives believe in general that such needs as health, education and welfare can be left to local and state governments, rather than inviting the federal government to encroach.

"With the encroachment of more welfare benefits, we lose more of our freedoms," he said.

# Birch Moderates Combat Goff Fanaticism

By ROBERT J. RIORDAN

STRANGE AS IT MAY seem to some Wisconsin critics of the John Birch Society—and perhaps to some members of the society itself—there are parts of the country where "the Birch people have looked upon themselves as the force of moderation and prudence, trying to keep down fanaticism."

And of special interest to Wisconsinites, it's Kenneth Goff, an old stormy petrel from Wisconsin, who's responsible.

So it appears, at least, from a commentary on the Birch Society by Russell Kirk which appeared in the Feb. 17 issue of America, the Jesuit weekly journal of opinion.

KIRK, BILLED as a spokesman for responsible conservatism, observes that Sen. Goldwater had to disavow the Birch society because its extremes were being used to denigrate the entire conservative movement. Referring to Robert Welch, founder of the Birch society, Kirk writes:

"Mr. Welch, a person of the sort commonly called a 'nice man,' has spent most of his own money upon his society, and he believes what he says; he is not a profiteer or a charlatan, and he genuinely admires Sen. Goldwater.

"But Robert Welch, never prepared for the role of political leader, is remarkably ignorant of the nature of the communist conspiracy which he incessantly denounces; and the sound of his own words has led him to the verge of what Burke calls 'metaphysical madness.'

"Ever since he founded his society, he has done more to injure the cause of responsible conservatism than to act effectively against communism."

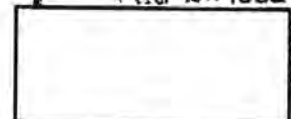
THIS IS THE REASON Sen. Goldwater had to take a position against the society, Kirk maintains, and this is the reason "why the Republican Party generally will clear its skirts of Mr. Welch, and presumably will set its face against still odder movements."

Moving on to the "still odder movements," Kirk writes:

"In much of the West, for instance, the Birch people have looked upon themselves as the force of moderation and prudence, trying to keep down fanaticism; they have

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 2-25-62  
George A. Tracy  
Managing Editor  
Milwaukee Office

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FEB 26 1962



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been hard pressed in some communities by a lay evangelist called Kenneth Goff, a storm trooper with a dash of the religion, who says that Chief Justice Warren ought to be impeached because he has been converted to Judaism and is secretly a rabbi.

"Such fanatics actually succeed in collecting a good deal of money and some support in these times, and responsible conservatives must act against them."

NOTHING MUCH HAS BEEN heard of Goff in these parts for about 10 years, but there was plenty in the 10 years before that.

Probably the only young man from staunchly conservative Delavan to become a communist, Goff quit the Young Communist League in 1939 and lunged to the opposite end of the scale by supporting Gerald L. K. Smith, a Detroit agitator of the 1930s and '40s whose anti-communism was strongly flavored with anti-Semitism.

Goff left the YCL with a crash, testifying before the Dies committee on un-American activities. He described his own activities and created a furor by naming attorneys, labor leaders, university professors and church leaders as

communists, and asserting that communist organizations were making headway in Milwaukee high schools, some church youth groups and the ROTC.

HE MOVED to Colorado in later years, but still turned up in the news here, variously as a minister, as editor of a publication called Pilgrim Torch, as director of a group called Christian Youth for America, and as an official of a group called the National Youth League.

In 1947, he and the editor of one of Smith's publications were fined \$100 in Washington, D. C., for placarding the Russian embassy as a promotion stunt for a speech Smith was to give in the capital.

Later that year, Goff's last major publicity in these parts centered around a red-hot PTA meeting in his old home town, Delavan, where citizens defended the school system against Goff's charges that communism was being taught in the high school.

Just because we haven't heard of him in 10 years, however, apparently doesn't mean he has retired. Perhaps the pastures are greener in the West, where he seems to be engaging the attention of the PTA and the Birch society.



## Birch Plan Condemned Students OK Warren

Wisconsin members of the National Federation of Catholic College Students Sunday condemned the John Birch society's proposal to impeach Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States.

The group's statement was adopted at the closing session of the organization's meeting at Cardinal Stritch college, attended by nearly 50 students from six Wisconsin colleges.

"Unwarranted and unsupported accusation for the vilification of a public official is detrimental to the political and moral welfare of the nation," the statement said. It was submitted by Alverno college here, and adopted with little debate.

### Resolution Adopted

The group also adopted a resolution recommending that health insurance programs for the aged not be included in the social security system as proposed by the King-Anderson bill pending in congress and that instead private insurance plans be developed to provide health insurance to the aged at reasonable premiums.

The small opposition to the bill came from students who felt that the aged might not have sufficient financial resources to pay the insurance premiums.

Another resolution that passed stated "the group's endorsement of orderly nuclear testing, 'only to the extent that effective

scientific progress is impossible without such tests."

Miss Diana Woo, a Mount

### Elected President

Mary college junior, was elected regional president. Other new officers are Miss Eunice Stefanowski, junior at Cardinal Stritch college, executive vice-president; Miss Rose Marie Seitz, sophomore at Edgewood College of the Sacred Heart, Madison, campus vice-president; Miss Carole Schamber, sophomore at Mount Mary college, recording secretary, and Ronald Steimle, sophomore at Dominican college, Racine, treasurer.

Milwaukee Journal  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 4/9/62  
Lindsay Hoben, Editor  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

100-13570-4

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APR 10 1962	

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# Birch Issue Stirs School

## Eagle River Dispute Leads to Probe of Library Material

Journal Special Correspondence

Eagle River, Wis.—The extent of the John Birch society's influence in the public school system here has caused a row in this northern resort community.

Charges have been made that Birch society members are pressuring teachers and forcing

right wing publications into the schools.

As a result of the charges, a three man committee has been named to investigate library material.

Principals in the dispute are H. S. (Ben) Tuttle, chairman of the school board and an admitted Birch society member, and Everett Hoover, former school board member. Hoover was beaten in the last school board election by Tuttle. Hoover claims that it was the Birch society's work that beat him. Tuttle is a retired real estate man and a former chairman of the Vilas county Republican party. He was a friend of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. The Birch society reportedly has 40 members in the Eagle River area.

Tuttle said he suggested that the high school library subscribe to three right wing pub-

lications. — National Review, American Opinion and Human Events.

No Liberal Periodicals  
National Review is the publication of William Buckley, a leading conservative spokesman. American Opinion is put out by Robert Welch, founder of the Birch society. Principal Wm. Abney said

the conservative publications were added to "give the students an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the conservative viewpoint."

Abney said the library carried no liberal publications that were as far left as the three publications were far right.

Tuttle named Hoover, former County Judge Frank W. Carter, and Gene Ritzer, a contractor, to the investigating committee. Tuttle said he named

Hoover because he was familiar with the library.

Letter Backs Move

Added to the controversy was a letter from Verne P. Kaub, Madison, president of the American Council of Christian Laymen. Kaub wrote:

"If it is true that material of the John Birch society has been placed in the Eagle River schools, and I hope it is true every loyal American in the district should rejoice."

Milwaukee Journal  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 8/8/62  
Lindley Horton, Editor  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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## Carley Sees Birchism As Malady

Declaring that the Birch issue "is not just a smoke screen," David Carley, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, Tuesday said Birchism is a "tragically real and identifiable malady."

It affects "the very vitals of free democratic institutions," he told the Wauwatosa Democratic unit meeting in the Wauwatosa Memorial building, 7725 W. North av.

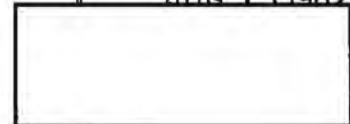
Carley said Wisconsin voters "should not be fooled by Republican candidate Philip Kuehn's tricky but phony statement on his relationship to the members of the John Birch society."

Kuehn, a GOP candidate for governor, issued a statement Friday repudiating the Birch society under the leadership of Robert Welch, but refusing to denounce individual members of the group.

Carley said Kuehn, who had called the Birch matter a Democratic "smoke screen," was seeking "to keep" the support of the society's members "by making his attack only on Welch."

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 8/15/62  
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Milwaukee Office

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AUG 15 1962



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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570)

DATE: 9/24/62

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

On 9/17/62 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] came to the Office and stated that she was very much concerned about the John Birch Society and believes that it is a subversive organization because it is composed of a group of fanatics and because of the secret nature, one member apparently does not know the other members.

She stated that during the recent primary campaign for the State of Wisconsin, she was a member of the Republican committee which was sponsoring WALTER G. RENK. During her work she learned through various sources, the names of the persons she could not recall, that the following people may be members:

[REDACTED]

and the following whom she could not further identify:

[REDACTED]

AGM/kaj  
(1) *kaj*

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SEP 24 1962

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She also stated that, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] RENK campaign literature was available at the Communist book store on West State street. She stated that the source of that literature at the book store was never determined but that [REDACTED] letter was possibly printed and distributed by the May Letter Service, 536 West Wisconsin Avenue. She also stated that she had heard that a man by the name of [REDACTED] a former Communist, was an employee at the May Letter Service.

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The above is being submitted for information purposes and it may be noted that [REDACTED] seems to be quite upset over the general proposal that Communism is the type of organization that she believes the John Birch Society is.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Politics in Perspective

# Followers of Far Right Groups Helped Write, Pass Renk Letter

## Members of Freedom Fighters, Birch Units Had Even Stronger First Drafts

By GEORGE ARMOUR  
Of The Journal Staff

The anti-Communist Christian Freedom Fighters and some leaders of the John Birch society helped Atty. William H. Bowman of Whitefish Bay draft and distribute 15,000 copies of a letter that tried to link Wilbur N. Renk with Communist support.

The letter finally produced on "Communists in the Republican Primary" was drafted by Bowman, but two other letters prepared and discarded made far stronger allegations about the presence of Renk literature in a bookstore run by a Communist.

Two pictures of Mary's Book Shop, operated by Communist Fred Bassett Blair at 530 W. State st., also were taken by a photographer for the Milwaukee Reporter. The prints were developed at the Reporter.

### Moderates Concerned

The letter damaged Renk's cast suspicion on Philip G. Kuehn and gave Democratic Atty. Gen. John Reynolds an effective issue. Kuehn, who defeated Renk in the Republican primary for governor, denied any part in the letter. He has had a full time job mending fences with Renk supporters.

Moderates within the Republican party were slow to find their voices on the letter but now are concerned about the damage it did to the GOP image.

There were several reports that the pictures were to have been distributed before the Sept. 11 primary election. However, others said the pictures were taken as a backstop to the Bowman letter and as proof that Renk's literature was in Blair's store.

### Two Men Fired

Al Elewitz, former managing editor of the Milwaukee Reporter, said he fired two employees, at least in part, because of their "political affiliations." Fired were Edward S. (Rick) MacDonald, 4022 N. 24th pl., and James R. Lewis, 3802 N. 13th st.

"I am a conservative on a conservative newspaper, but these people had intentions in other (further right) directions," Elewitz declared.

MacDonald, 27, chairman of the Freedom Fighters organization, readily admits his part in preparing the letter, the picture and distribution of the letter. Lewis, a section leader of the Birch society and a member of State st., also was taken by a photographer for the Milwaukee Reporter. The prints were developed at the Reporter.

Bowman said MacDonald contacted him about Renk's literature in the Communist book store and was accompanied by one other person. Bowman said he promised not to name the second person.

### Both Were Stronger

Bowman said each of the two men had a different letter drafted.

"Both were stronger than my letter, and both indicated that Renk had knowledge of the literature in the book store," Bowman said.

"These two people who consulted with me felt that Renk was involved. I told them that if they let me do it in my way and promised not to do any-

thing their way, it would be better. They agreed."

The letter was printed by the Tri-Town News, 5830 S. 108th st. MacDonald was paid \$180 to distribute it.

MacDonald, who founded the small Bible study and anti-Red Freedom Fighters, said he went to Bowman on the Thursday before the primary. He said a friend of his saw the literature in the book store and another friend took pictures. He declined to name the friends.

### Mailed 750 in State

MacDonald said he presented the story and picture to the Reporter and they said they didn't want to touch it.

"I handled the distribution," MacDonald said. "I had a little over 14,000 copies. I mailed 750 all over the state. The Freedom Fighters has a list of conservatives and Mr. Bowman had a mailing list."

"I drove to Madison and delivered 1,000 copies. They were passed out there by persons who have positions that would be hurt by advertising, so I can't give their names."

MacDonald said: "We sent some up north — Appleton, Green Bay, Oshkosh, Fond du Lac and Eau Claire. Most of it was by car. I farmed a lot of others out to friends. At least 50 persons were involved. Associates of the Freedom Fighters did most of the work."

### Saw Copy of Drafts

Mrs. Norman Skogstad, 2823 N. Summit av., a Birch member, said she obtained copies of the letter and "showed them to my friends."

Norman Skogstad, her hus-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 24

Milwaukee Journal

Milwaukee

Wisconsin

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Edition: Latest  
Author:  
Editor: Lindsay Hoben  
Title:  
Character:  
or  
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Submitting Office: Milwaukee

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band, who is active in the 18th ward Republican unit, said a report from the Renk camp that he was passing out the letters was "an absolute falsehood."

MacDonald said he had been active in other such leaflet campaigns.

A Republican assembly candidate, who declined use of his name, said he saw a copy of the original drafts of the letter on the Blair incident.

"They were outrageous," he said. "I told them in the strongest terms that these should not be distributed."

Asked who was behind the letter besides Bowman, the candidate said:

"Look to the Birch society. They were involved in it. A Birchman came to me with the letter."

#### "Party Leaders Involved"

The candidate declined use of his name, because: "If I openly oppose the Birch society I will never get anywhere with them. In private I can influence them to leave the society and work on real political issues within the party."

Another Milwaukee Republican assembly candidate in the primary election, Mrs. Maudé Bennett, spoke out on the letter, because: "When the top people are dealing with this sort of thing, then the public should know. Some of the party leaders are involved in this. We must repudiate them and keep the party clean."

Kuehn has denied any part in the production of the letter. He said he did not know of it until a copy was mailed to him the Saturday before the primary. Renk's initial reaction, and that of his backers, was

to blame the Kuehn camp for the letter.

Kuehn has been hard pressed to convince Renk forces that they should back him in the Nov. 6 election against Democratic Atty. Gen. John Reynolds.

Kuehn held a news conference last week to placate Renk. A Kuehn backer introduced a resolution approved by the 18th Republican ward unit, which called on the county GOP to take Bowman's party membership away from him.

Kuehn has prohibited any person in his campaign organization from talking about the

Bowman letter. All questions addressed to any of his aides on the subject are referred to Kuehn.



## Birch Leader Tells of Work Talks to GOP Club

A John Birch society leader here Monday night explained the society's purposes to the 16th ward GOP club. It was believed the first time that a Birch leader had spoken to a party audience here.

John Cain, 4424 W. Fountain av., Brown Deer, received a polite response from about 50 ward members at the Club Nicabob, 1557 N. 35th st.

William J. O'Connor, club chairman, told the group that Cain's appearance did not constitute an endorsement but was only an attempt to get information about the society. He was applauded when he said: "All I know about the John Birch society is what I read in the papers and I don't believe everything in the papers."

### Cain Is Section Leader

Cain, who addressed the group as "fellow Republicans" is a section leader for the society. He said he was responsible for giving aid to local chapters. Cain is a self-employed industrial equipment salesman.

Cain's program consisted mainly of a 27 minute film by Robert Welch, founder of the ultraconservative society. Denying that the society was secret, Welch said only its membership lists were kept from the public. Welch outlined the methods, including letter writing and petitions, in which the society fights communism.

### "Job Has to Be Done"

In a brief question period Cain said he did not believe any political candidate was defeated because of his backing by society members. Cain also denied that the public had a bad impression of the society.

"We're not worried about it," he said. "We know the job that has to be done."

Cain said it was better to join the Birch society than a Republican organization to fight communism, asserting that Communist influence in Cuba grew during the Eisenhower administration.

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Date 1/30/63  
Lindsay Hoben, Editor  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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# Tuttle Waves Off Support Of 'Birchers'

Atty. Thomas N. Tuttle, Shorewood, candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in the new 9th district, said Friday that he did not want and would not accept support "in any form" from any member of the John Birch society in his campaign. Tuttle said he was repudiating the extreme right-wing Birch group in order to clear the air "as we enter this crucial political year."

He challenged other 9th district candidates to join him in rejecting support from the society or its members.

Tuttle said he had seen references to the 9th district as "the Birch district."

"I have heard it has been alleged that no one will win election in the 9th district without the support of the Birch society," he said.

"This should not be so, and it will not be so if other candidates will join me in a forthright repudiation of this group, which compounds fright and frustration with irresponsibility."

J. Louis Hanson, Mellen, state Democratic chairman, said last September that the Republican nominee in the 9th district was likely to be "of the type who won't turn his back on the John Birch and other right wing groups."

The district should seek representation by a Democrat, he said, because a GOP nominee would likely be an extreme conservative.

Tuttle, in a statement, said the Republican party had established an "outstanding record" in combating communism and "must oppose just as forcefully the radical extremists of the far right. Their methods and most of their objectives are as alien to the true American ideal as those of the radical left."

"It appears to me that in his inexperience, he's going out of his way to divide Republicans and aid Democrats," Davis said of Tuttle. Davis called for discussion of the issues instead of individuals.

Tewes said, "My disagreements with the John Birch society are widely known, but self-righteous statements filled with emotional charges such as Mr. Tuttle has issued do not add very much enlightenment to the campaign. I have set my sights considerably higher."

Persons in the 9th district should not be distracted from real issues by "the clouds of fear and suspicion that the Birch society generates," Tuttle said.

"We have real issues to discuss in this campaign. We should be discussing how to handle Khrushchev and Castro, not Birch implications that President Eisenhower was a Communist," he said.

"We should discuss how to make the United Nations a more effective forum for freedom, not Birch demands to 'get the US out of the UN, and the UN out of the US.'"

"We should discuss how to control the size of the federal government, not the Birch insistence that it is practical to abolish the income tax."

Other announced GOP contenders for the new congressional posts are Glenn R. Davis, New Berlin, and Donald Tewes, Waukesha, both former 2nd district congressmen.

Both Tewes and Davis were critical of Tuttle's statement.

"I don't intend to repudiate any individual who happens to disagree with me," Davis said.

Asked if he would accept support from a Birch society member, Davis said it "would depend on the basis" of the support.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A3 Milwaukee Sentinel  
Milwaukee  
Wisconsin

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Edition: Morning  
Author:  
Editor: Harry Sonnebor  
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Character:  
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Submitting Office: Milwaukee

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## Birch Official to Talk Here

### YGOP Unit at MU Schedules Speech by Kennedy Critic

Reville P. Oliver, a University of Illinois professor and a John Birch society official, has signed a contract with the Marquette University Young Republicans to speak on the campus Apr. 2.

The event was announced by John Savage, president of the school's YGOP unit.

In a recent right wing magazine article, Oliver said President Kennedy's "memory will be cherished with distaste and charged him with treason."

He is a member of the Birch society's national committee.

The university Thursday denied the Marquette Young Democrats permission to invite Frank Wilkinson, field director of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, on grounds that the university had "no obligation to offer aid or encouragement to ideologies with which it differs basically."

Wilkinson was convicted of contempt of congress for refusing to tell the house committee whether he had ever been a Communist.

#### Press Will Check

Patric John Nease, St. Marquette dean of students and chairman of the student life committee which refused permission for Wilkinson's appearance, said that he would have to check the committee's decision to allow the invitation of Oliver before commenting.

He does not even remember the name of Oliver's magazine. Oliver is scheduled to speak at 7:30 p.m. in the medical building.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B1 Milwaukee Journal

Milwaukee

Wisconsin

Date: 2/16/64

Edition: Latest

Author:

Editor: Lindsay Hoben

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Milwaukee

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# Unaware of Birch Tie of Speaker, MU States

Marquette university officials did not know of Revilo P. Oliver's connection with the John Birch society when they granted permission for him to speak, Father John Naus, S.J., said Monday.

Oliver, professor of classics at the University of Illinois and a member of the Birch society's national commission, is scheduled to speak Apr. 2 at a

meeting of The Young Republican club at Marquette.

Father Naus, Marquette dean of students, said Oliver's name was one of 19 submitted in November to the student life committee. At that time, he said, the committee did not know of Oliver's political connections and the approval was routine.

He said he did not know if the committee would reverse its action, but he planned to ask other committee members about it.

Oliver received national attention last week when an article he had written for American Opinion, Birch society publications, was quoted by the wire services.

Oliver wrote that President Kennedy had been assassinated because he had fallen behind in the Communists' timetable for turning the United States over to the Soviet Union.

He also was quoted as having written that the late president's memory would "be cherished with distaste." He added that Kennedy had, "by shameless intimidation, bribery and blackmail, induced weaklings in congress to approve treasonable acts designed to disarm us and to make us the helpless prey of the affiliated criminals and savages of the United Nations."

Oliver is a regular contributor to American Opinion. He is listed as an associate editor on the magazine's masthead. In June, 1963, Scott Stanley, jr., managing editor of American Opinion, discussed Oliver's writings in a speech in Wauwatosa.

Last Thursday, Marquette denied permission to the Young Democratic club at the school to invite Frank Wilkinson, field director of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B1-Milwaukee Journal

Milwaukee,  
—Wisconsin

Date: 2/17/64  
Edition: Latest  
Author:  
Editor: Lindsay Hoben  
Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character:  
or  
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Submitting Office: Milwaukee

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FEB 18 1964	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

*[Signature]*

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# Birch Member's Talk Vetoed by Marquette

Revilo Oliver, Critic of Kennedy, Was to Address YGOP on Campus

Marquette university withdrew permission Wednesday for the school's Young Republicans to sponsor a talk on the campus by Prof. Revilo P. Oliver, a University of Illinois classics professor and a member of the national council of the John Birch society. "In view of the inflammatory statements which have recently been attributed to Dr. Oliver, we do not think that his appearance would be



Oliver

in the best interest of our students and the university community," said the Marquette student-life committee in its decision.

John P. Savage, 3026 N. Summit av., a Marquette junior in business administration and president of the Young Republicans, was told of the decision Wednesday by Wayne Tinkle, dean of men. Tinkle was acting in the absence of Father John Naus, S.J., dean of students, who is out of the city. After the meeting with Tinkle, Savage said:

"Because of my past stands I have always defended the committee in its right to screen speakers—if I did anything else at this time because of this decision, I would consider myself a hypocrite."

Savage added: "I wish they had not accepted him in the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

AT Milwaukee Journal

Milwaukee

Wisconsin

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Edition: Latest  
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Editor: Lindsay Hoben  
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first place, rather than doing it this way."

Permission for Oliver to speak on campus Apr. 2 originally was granted by the student life committee in November. On Monday, Father Naus said that was done before the committee knew of Oliver's connection with the Birch society.

However, Wednesday's statement by the committee said: "As a matter of clarification, we'd like to say that the committee was aware that Prof. Oliver was a member of the John Birch society council when his initial appearance on campus was approved."

"In light of new information which has come to our attention, the committee on student life met to reconsider our approval."

"In giving or withholding our approval, the committee is guided by what it considers to be in the best interest of our students and the entire Marquette university community. The committee feels confident that the Young Republicans will have no difficulty bringing to our campus speakers who are challenging and who stimulate their interests in our American system of government."

The Oliver issue was raised when it was revealed that he had written an article in a Birch society publication bitterly attacking former President Kennedy. He said Kennedy's "memory will be

cherished with distaste" and charged him with treason.

The controversy over Oliver's appearance also followed a decision by the student life committee a week ago, that the Young Democrats could not sponsor a speech by Frank Wilkinson, Los Angeles, field director of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In denying permission for Wilkinson to speak, the committee had said the university had "no obligation to offer aid or encouragement to the ideologies with which it differs basically."

Wilkinson was convicted of contempt of congress for refusing to tell the house committee on un-American activities whether he had ever been a Communist.

Savage said Wednesday that he thought the Young Republicans would be able to get out of their contract with Oliver. He said some Milwaukee organization might be willing to pick up the contract and have Oliver speak.

On the committee's decision, Savage said: "I'm not going to cry to the newspapers, our supporters outside, the faculty or anyone else, as other groups have done."

Young Democrats had protested of the committee's refusal to permit Wilkinson's appearance.

Oliver could not be reached for comment on Marquette's decision.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# THE TIME HAS COME

We believe that the President of the United States has been murdered by a Communist within the United States.

It has been pointed out by the Hon. Martin Dies, since the assassination, that Lee Harvey Oswald was a Communist, and that when a Communist commits murder, he is acting under orders. The former Congressman, head of the original Dies Committee, is probably second only to J. Edgar Hoover in firsthand knowledge acquired from early and long experience in investigating Communist activities.

The Hon. J. Edgar Hoover said in a speech on October 18, 1960: "We are at war with the Communists, and the sooner each red-blooded American realizes that the better and safer we will be." He emphatically repeated this statement on December 3, 1963—ten days after the assassination. And this is none the less war because the Communists conduct it according to their usual methods, without regard to civilized rules or human decency.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

All Milwaukee Journal

Milwaukee

Wisconsin

Date: 2/3/64  
Edition: Latest  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY COHEN  
Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
100-14311-2 (2)  
Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

100-13570-57

100-13570-57

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

C sent Bureau



Nor is it in character for the Communists to rest on this success. Instead, we can expect them to use the shock, grief and confusion of the American people, resulting from the assassination of our President, as an opportunity for pushing their own plans faster. Also, we shall be subjected to an ever greater barrage of distortions and falsehoods, aimed at imposing on the nation a completely false picture of the situation and of the forces at work. They have to subvert our minds as well as our institutions.

For five years The John Birch Society has said that, regardless of the external threat, Communism was a serious internal menace in the United States. And we were

fight. We believe that this has now been proved, tragically but conclusively, to the deep sorrow, but also to the profound alarm of all good Americans. The time has come for those good Americans to join us in this fight against the powerfully organized "masters of deceit." For, as Edmund Burke once wrote: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

The John Birch Society is an *educational* army, and our only weapon is the truth. But George Washington stated our problem well: "Truth will ultimately prevail

where there is pains taken to bring it to light." We take tremendous pains in proportion to our numbers and our strength, and all we need to win is that enough other patriots join us in our determination and our labors. For there is nothing the Communists fear so much in the whole world today as having the American people learn, too soon, the truth about their purposes, their methods and their progress.

If you oppose the Communist conspiracy by learning and spreading the truth, you may expect to be smeared as viciously as we have been for five years. But you will be helping to save your family and your country from the same cruel tyranny that has already been imposed on a billion human beings.

The time has come for every red blooded American to react as such. If you have the willingness to learn and the courage to support the disturbing truth, use the coupon below. It will be without any obligation on your part, and we shall not contact you further unless or until you request us to do so.

six-year history!  
64 models in a wide-open test  
these specially tuned, expertl



### Please Note

If you agree with this statement, and are willing to help us put this message in as many newspapers as possible across our country, send us your contribution *now*. Make your check out to *Special Advertising Fund*, and mail it directly to:

#### THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Box 4181, Western Station  
Milwaukee, Wis. 53210

The John Birch Society  
Box 4181, Western Station  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53210

Gentlemen:

- ☐ Please send me, without cost or obligation on my part, a sheet of preliminary information about the Society.
- ☐ For the enclosed one dollar, please send me your *Introductory Packet* of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

Sincerely,

(Check the box that applies)

- ☐ For the enclosed five dollars please send me your *Special Packet* containing the basic materials from which I can obtain a thorough understanding of what the John Birch Society is, how it works and what it hopes to do.

(Name) \_\_\_\_\_

(Address) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

SUPPORT YOUR



LOCAL POLICE

They need it. The Communists know, as the American people do not, that the city and community police forces now constitute one of the most important remaining obstacles to the gradual, insidious, and at first invisible, establishment of the mechanics of their Communist police state. The local working police are the best friends everywhere, of anti-Communists like ourselves, because they constantly run up against all of the dirty tactics of the Communists, and of the dupes and allies of the Communists, in their respective areas.

For this reason there has been a subtle, but now increasingly bolder and more extensive effort, to harass and discredit local police forces and their individual members, going on in the country for more than a decade. Just one illustration was the CBS television show, The Biography Of A Bookie Joint, which was designed to make all working "cops" look like grafting burns; and which has been proved by a thorough later investigation to have been basically as phony as was the "interview" with your Founder in Santa Barbara two years ago, that CBS broadcast all over the country. (We revealed the true facts about this incredibly dirty and deliberate distortion in an earlier bulletin, and reprinted those paragraphs in a thin leaflet as The Story Of A Hoax.) And we could fill this bulletin with other illustrations.

This support of their local police by all good citizens everywhere is going to become especially important now that Communist-inspired racial riots are getting to be a regular part of the American scene. The police will be "crucified" by the Liberals, in the press and over the airwaves, for practically everything they do in the line of duty. And this will be true no matter how circumspectly they handle themselves, nor with what careful restraint they use their authority, in connection with every large or small outbreak of civil disorder which the Communist plotters can produce.

Nor will the Communists nor even their Liberal dupes leave to chance the supply of grist for their mills of distortion. The police chief of Birmingham was doing a superb job of maintaining law and order in the midst of a hot situation, while letting thousand of Negroes march and hundreds of white people protest all they wished. He merely set up a line of police, protected by their police dogs, to keep the two groups apart. And peace was maintained day after day, while the level heads of the city, both white and colored, got together and tried to solve the problems underlying the turmoil. But this was the last thing that the instigators of the trouble wanted; and when incidents didn't arise, incidents had to be created. So a carefully planned tableau was enacted. While cameras were poised and ready to catch the show at the right instant, one or more hotheads or dupes among the Negroes went up to the line and deliberately kicked one or more of the dogs. The result was a

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100-13570-5

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 4 1964	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

picture, plastered in the papers all over the United States (and on the front page of the Boston Herald, of course), of a policeman barely holding onto a dog which was straining at the leash to attack a Negro among the Birmingham "civil rights" advocates in Birmingham.

There were no other results of the incident except the picture, which was the glorious piece of propaganda that the Communists wanted. But it shows you what the police will be up against everywhere in simply trying, as calmly as possible under the circumstances, to maintain law and order. The Federal Marshals, for another illustration, not only were not needed in Oxford, Mississippi for that purpose, but actually created most of the rioting -- as they obviously were intended to do. But of course the more the local police, anywhere or everywhere, can be discredited, the more willing the gullible American people will be to accept the entry of Federal troops as necessary to put down rioting.

Among the more carefully plotted schemes for harassing the police, discrediting individual policemen, and discouraging all those who might want to do their duty, has been the setting up of Police Review Boards -- to which many gullible dogooders and bleeding hearts have been giving support. Their chief function, in practice anyway if not in theory, is to make every individual police officer scared to death, as to every action he takes even in dealing with vicious criminals in emergency situations, of being called before some board weeks or months later, and condemned with loss of pay or maybe loss of job, for having been too unkind to the poor wayward unfortunates who were about to shoot him in the back, or stamp in his face, when he tried to interfere with their waywardness.

We shall return to this whole theme in later bulletins. At present we suggest simply that you

- (a) Oppose the continuance or establishment of Police Review Boards.
- (b) When you come across questionable criticism of your local police by some Liberal editor or nice-Nellie commentator, find out the real facts if you can. Usually the fellow officers of those being criticized will give you the unvarnished truth. Then if you find the criticism to have been unjustified, write and put the record straight.

Reproduced from the July, 1963  
Bulletin of The John Birch Society.  
These sheets are available, in any quantity,  
at 100 for \$1.00, postage paid.  
The attractive blue and white emblem on the reverse  
side of this sheet is also available as a 3 1/4" by 3 1/4"  
gummed sticker, in any quantity, at  
50 for \$1.00, postage paid. Order from  
The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Ike's Handling of Reds Criticized

if we're so anxious to win in Vietnam?"

Reed Benson, a co-ordinator of the John Birch society, said Tuesday night that "the consequences of Eisenhower's dealings with the Communists were tragic, were multiplied under Kennedy and compounded by Johnson." Benson, of Washington, D. C., is the son of Ezra Taft Benson, secretary of agriculture under President Eisenhower. He addressed about 500 persons at Holiday Inn Central.



Benson

His talk was sponsored by the American Opinion bookstore and library, 7410 W. State st., Sauwatosa, a Birch book and pamphlet outlet.

## Alternative Conclusions

Benson made his comment about dealing with Communists while referring to founder Robert Welch's attack on Eisenhower. He reiterated that the society was not connected with Welch's opinion expressed in his book, "The Politician," that Eisenhower was a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. He also said that Welch had listed two alternative conclusions.

The alternatives were that Eisenhower was ignorant or that he was an opportunistic politician, Benson said.

"But what difference does it make if a house is burned down by an ignorant man, a man who wants to get warm or an arsonist?" Benson asked.

## Says We're Losing War

"The country is at war and we're losing. . . . We could end the war in Vietnam in 90 days if we win but that's not the way the course is laid out. We're being conditioned to lose," he said.

"We've been patrolling the coast of Formosa to make sure the K'ai-shek [Nationalist] go from the Chinese mainland. . . . Let Chiang help

Benson pleaded with his listeners to look at the Birch society and study its literature as a way to "stand up for freedom" against Communists. "You can't delegate your duties to preserve your individual freedom," he said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART II, PAGE 12  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 2/9/66  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character: IS-MISCEL.

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-81

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
FEB 11 1966  
FBI - MILWAUKEE

cc Bur  
2  
ASAC



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-13570)

DATE: April 21, 1966

FROM : ASAC

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Attached hereto is a flyer entitled "The Committee on Police Support," which was personally delivered to the office on 4-15-66, by [redacted] and [redacted] who represented themselves as [redacted] of the Committee on Police Support, respectively. They also made available a copy of the publication "American Opinion," April, 1966, put out by the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

These individuals advised they are very concerned with supporting the local police, and desired to make available their literature just so it will be on record. I informed them that the FBI does not and will not support any programs of this type, and cannot be in any way directly or indirectly associated -- not even by inference -- as supporting any organization. They both asserted they understand this completely, and desired to make available the literature as a voluntary gesture, as they felt sure someone else would probably provide this office with it, if they did not.

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[redacted] advised he is planning to move to West Bend, Wis., where he will be active in the John Birch Society. Both individuals appeared quite cooperative, made absolutely no demands, and gave every indication of their sincerity of just wanting to inform the FBI of their activities.

The booklet is being made an exhibit to this file for reference, in the event inquiries are made concerning the activities of this organization.

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JWL:mcs  
(2)

100-13570-82  
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SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....  
APR 21 1966  
FBI - MILWAUKEE



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan *wfo*

Note: Hand print names legibly; handwriting satisfactory for remainder.

Subject's name and aliases <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY 100-13570			Address of subject <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>		Character of case RACIAL MATTERS
Complainant <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>			Complainant's address and telephone number Oshkosh P.D.		Complaint received <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Personal <input type="checkbox"/> Telephonic Date 2/27/64 Time
Subject's Description	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Height	Hair	Birth date and Birthplace
	Age		Weight	Eyes	
	Complexion				
Scars, marks or other data					

Facts of complaint

advised that the attached is a copy of a reprint from the July, 1963 Bulletin of the John Birch Society Bulletin. He stated he prepared it from a copy of the reprint in possession of his office given him about 2/14/64 by  of . He stated she appeared to have a quantity of them in her possession and when she gave it to him asked him to look it over and see what he thought of it. He asked who was distributing them and she stated "They are from the John Birch Society. She did not state whether she herself was a member of that society."

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b7

Action Recommended NO ACTION

(Agent)

100-13570-59

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SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Named to Birch Council

John T. Brown, vice-president in charge of international operations at the Falk Corp., said Thursday he had accepted an appointment to the national council of the John Birch society. Brown, former president and chairman of the board of the J. I. Case Co., still lives in Racine. He said he had been a Birch member "for a long time" and is very interested in its work.



Brown

"Gradually, it is making considerable progress in getting people informed on what's going on, both from the standpoint of the Communist program and the growth of big government . . . the gradual erosion of individual responsibility," Brown said. "It is one of the organizations that has been most effective."

Brown said he agreed with

one of the prime objectives of the Birch society, that Chief Justice Earl Warren should be impeached. Under Justice Warren, Brown said, there has been a tendency to rely on "social or political objectives" in reaching a decision rather than on an interpretation of the Constitution.

Brown is the second Milwaukee area man to be appointed to the Birch national council. William J. Grede, head of Grede Foundries, Inc., has been on the council since its early days.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Part 2, Page 1  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Date: 2/8/65  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY H  
Title:

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character:  
or MI 100-135  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MIL

☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-60  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

cc to Ben

original sent to  
FBI PA  
4/25/83  
and

b6  
b7

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Welch Says Nation Is Run By the Insane

By LAURIE VAN DYKE  
Sentinel Staff Writer

Chicago, Ill. — Robert Welch, head of the John Birch society, said here Friday night that the entire nation was "one vast insane asylum and they're letting the worst patients run the place."

Welch said that no one had to ask directions to the nearest asylum because "you're not only in the middle of one, but you can't get out."

Welch spoke to about 1,000 persons at a dinner of the Congress of Conservatives in the Sheraton-Chicago hotel.

The founder of the John Birch society was presented with the "first annual Joseph R. McCarthy Great American award," in honor of the late Republican senator from Wisconsin.

The award was made by the Conservative Society of America, New Orleans, La., and presented by Kent Courtney, publisher of the Independent American, the society's newspaper and sponsor of the three-day congress. It will close Saturday.

Courtney said he had been the president of the first McCarthy for President group in

the nation. He said that the McCarthy censure by the senate had awakened feelings in both the Republican and Democratic parties "so that neither one would ever be anti-Communist again."

Welch holds a "place in the nation's heart formerly occupied by George Washington and Joe McCarthy," Courtney said. Welch was presented with a large oil painting of George Washington in prayer at Valley Forge.

## In Wauwatosa Today

Welch will be in Wauwatosa Saturday for the official opening of an American Opinion library and bookstore. He said that there were 300 such libraries in the nation. He said these libraries were "creating a whole new channel of distribution" for the Birch society.

The Birch society neither opposes nor supports a third party because it is an educational organization, but society members are encouraged to participate in political activities.

Saturday had been billed as "new party day" for the conservatives here, but it was reported that instead of forming a new party the group would appoint a committee to organize a party some time in the future.

## He Briefs His Charges

Welch in his talk gave several reasons why the nation is "bordering on insanity":

- The United States is following a course in Vietnam designed to throw the country into Communist hands without letting it appear that "we pushed it."

- The aim of the civil rights movement is a "separate Negro Soviet republic to be carved right out of the United States."

- A program is being set up to relieve poverty in such cities as Beverly Hills, Calif.

- Tax exempt status is being given to every "one horse left wing organization," while the same status is not given organizations opposing communism.

Courtney said after a Friday caucus that it would not be realistic to form a third party "until we have more geo-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Part I, Page 1

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/1/65  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: HARRY SONNEBORN  
Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Milwaukee  
☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-61

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 3 - 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

cc sent Bureau



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# Bircher's UWM List Based on News Stories

A Bayside member of the John Birch society Thursday night described on a national television program how she prepared a list on the political activities of 184 University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee professors.

The 20 page list had been sent to state legislators last April with a letter referring to the "one sided nature of the UWM faculty" and "how far some of these people have gone to help the Communist conspiracy."

Mrs. John H. McEwan, 9064 N. Tennyson dr., appeared on "Regional Report: The John Birch Society," a 90 minute filmed program prepared by the National Educational Television network. It was shown here on WMVS-TV.

## "Merely a Record"

The program included a 45 minute interview with Robert Welch, founder of the organization. Mrs. McEwan has been a Birch member four years.

Mrs. McEwan said she based her list on what she had read in newspapers. The list was not intended to prove anything. "It is merely a record of what these professors have done," she said.

Included in the activities noted with the names of the professors was attending a Unitarian church, signing a nomination petition for President Johnson, assisting the peace corps and opposing the appointment of Ald. Vincent Schmitt as tax commissioner for Milwaukee.

## Klotsche Heads List

On television, Mrs. McEwan said:

"This list was not created with the idea of proving anything. Now, if someone feels that it is subversive to sign a petition favoring President Johnson, this is his right and that was not my intention in collecting this material.

"If somebody feels that joining the peace corps is undesirable, well, this is their prerogative."

J. Martin Klotsche, chancellor of UWM, heads Mrs. McEwan's list. It notes that he is a member of the Milwaukee World Affairs council and the governor's committee on the United Nations, that he attended a governor's conference at which the Soviet ambassador spoke, and that he signed a petition opposing the candidacy of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in the 1964 presidential primary in Wisconsin.

Klotsche also was interviewed on the program.

"My answer is, so what?" Klotsche replied. "I belong to a



Welch

Mrs. McEwan

lot of other groups that aren't listed, too, and I make no apology for these. . . . If this is subversion, then I would consider this a new definition of subversion. . . .

"I think this is an absurd charge. I think this is nonsense. We have a very fine faculty here, at Milwaukee. . . . Yes, they're engaged in controversy. We have a wide variety of opinions on many subjects on this campus. We encourage this. We feel that this is a part of university life. We wouldn't want it any other way."

## Lots of Disagreement

When he was interviewed, Welch claimed that no one has ever found an error in this book, "The Politician."

However, Welch added: "There's plenty of disagreement as to any conclusions." The program was narrated by

Edwin Bayley, vice-president for administration for NET. Bayley is a former Milwaukee Journal reporter and was executive secretary to Gaylord Nelson when Nelson was governor of Wisconsin.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 2, PAGE 1  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 7/29/65  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title:

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY,  
MILWAUKEE

Character: 100 -  
or MI 13570  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-62  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
JUL 30 1965  
FBI - MILWAUKEE

(Mount)

# Birch Society Sign Defaced at Weyauwega

**Paint Splattered on  
Billboard Calling for  
Ouster of Warren**

WEYAUWEGA — A large highway sign, constructed by the Weyauwega chapter of the John Birch Society, denouncing Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren and asking for his impeachment was defaced on one side sometime Sunday night when it was splattered with green paint. The sign, which was built this summer, is located approximately one mile west of Weyauwega on U.S. 10.

Robert Bales, president of the Weyauwega John Birch chapter, who reported the vandalism to police, said a quart of green farm implement paint was used to deface the east side of the double sign. The empty can was found at the base of the sign. The sign is covered by insurance, Bales said, and will be repainted.

Bales said response has been "gratifying" since construction of the sign, which states that information regarding the society may be obtained by writing to a Weyauwega post office box. He said mail has been running about four to one in favor of the society.

## Membership Doubles

Membership in the Weyauwega chapter has doubled since the sign was put up, Bales added. Although Bales would not disclose the number of members who belonged he did say it was "strong and good for a small community."

As a follow-up to the sign, Bales said, Weyauwega Chapter members were planning a mock trial at which Justice Warren will be impeached. The trial which will be sponsored and presented by the local chapter, will be open to the public, according to Bales. He said the date and place of the mock trial will be announced when plans are completed.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

APPLETON POST-CRESCENT  
Appleton, Wis  
Page B1

Date: August 6, 1965

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: JOHN B. TORINUS

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

100-12570-62

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SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 10 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

# John Birch Society

## Intense Citizens Dedicated to Reweaving Fabric of American Life into Pattern Envisioned by Robert Welch

BY DAVE NOWAK  
Post-Crescent Staff Writer

The John Birch Society was attracting national attention for several years. Across the nation people were debating what the society was and what its members were trying to accomplish.

Some people were calling the society a fascist organization playing on the American people's fear of communism.

This article is by a Post-Crescent staff writer who, prior to joining the staff, conducted independent research on political pressure groups, including the John Birch Society, operating in Milwaukee County. In the article he relates his personal experiences, observations and thoughts.

In order to repeal the 20th century. Others looked upon the society as a patriotic group dedicated to fighting the menace of communism.

After reading various newspaper and magazine reports about the society, this writer decided the only way to gain a better understanding of the society was to join.

### No Problem

Joining the Birch Society posed no great problem. In the spring of 1963, I visited a bookstore in the Milwaukee area which sold right wing literature published by various organizations throughout the nation.

After chatting with the clerk for a while, I asked her how I would go about joining an anti-communist group such as the Birch Society. She called someone on the telephone and told the person on the other end of the line that I was interested in attending a Birch meeting.

Several moments later she hung up and told me that I would receive a telephone call in the near future from a chapter leader inviting me to an educational meeting.

### First Meeting

Within a week's time, I received a phone call from a chapter leader inviting me to an educational meeting in Butler, which is northwest of Milwaukee.

The meeting was held in the basement of the chapter leader's home. Approximately 15 persons attended. Thinking back to that first meeting, it seems rather ironic that a film on Viet Nam was shown that night.

Recalling that I had read the society was dominated by "old women wearing tennis shoes" and members of the upper class and upper middle class, I paid particular attention to what professions were represented. There were several engineers, salesmen, a draftsman, a tree trimmer and several women in their 30s.

In two other chapters that I belonged to during the ensuing year, there were several executives and a number of elderly women. However, they did not dominate over other groups. Most members I met could be classified as middle class.

### Reweaving

After leaving that first meeting, I began wondering where our political system had failed; why such a militant group had been founded to attempt a reweaving of the entire American political, social and economic fabric under the announced objective of fighting communism. This question plagued this writer for many months. I was frightened and dismayed by what I had heard and the questions that rose in my mind.

As I learned later, there are two types of meetings held by the chapters, usually on a monthly basis. Educational meetings were held for the primary purpose of inviting interested persons to meet with members and discuss the society and view films on topics related to communism. A standard "indoctrination" film was a monologue by Robert Welch, founder and president of the society, outlining the group's principles. Another film often shown was one showing the steady advance of communism throughout the world, as interpreted by Welch, which, oftentimes, sounded convincing if one did not know history.

Chapter business meetings were open to members only. They were held on a monthly basis, usually at the chapter leader's home. Each chapter contained between 10 and 20 members. The first chapter this writer belonged to was soon split into three chapters because the dues paying membership had reached 50.

Chapter meetings followed a routine pattern. Usually a week prior to the meeting, a member would receive

Newspaper, City and State

APPLETON POST-CRESCENT  
Appleton, Wis  
Page 11

Date: August 8, 1965  
Edition: Sunday  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

100-12570-64  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
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through the mail his monthly bulletin, written by Robert Welch, and mailed from the society's headquarters at Belmont, Mass.

The bulletin contained a several-page dissertation by Welch on some current problem. Following this was a list of 12 to 15 subjects which members were urged to concern themselves with on a daily basis. Among these were the movement to impeach Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren; getting the United Nations out of the United States and vice versa; supporting the liberty amendment; supporting the local police (this was a subtle way of criticizing the civil rights movement); liberating Cuba from communism; warning Americans of slave labor merchandise (products made in Communist nations) being sold in this country, and recruiting new members.

It was the chapter leader's responsibility to read aloud each of the topics and initiate discussion, usually by adding some comments of his own. In most cases the leader made a brief comment, merely rephrasing what Welch said. Members also would merely repeat in most instances what Welch said. All members appeared to agree with Welch on all topics.

### Projects

After discussing the monthly bulletin, members would discuss various local political issues or plan projects. These projects were sometimes undertaken by individual chapters or by several chapters on a cooperative basis.

One project this writer took part in consisted of standing in front of a chain food store, passing out pamphlets urging shoppers not to buy goods produced in communist countries. The pamphlets contained an extensive list of products which had been imported from communist nations, particularly from East Europe.

At the same time this writer was passing out pamphlets, other society members were doing the same in front of other food stores, in shopping centers and various stores in downtown Milwaukee. The society usually picked stores that sold goods imported from communist countries.

A project members delighted in discussing was one where they would secretly place stickers inside, or on, clothing goods in department and mens' stores telling shoppers that they were buying goods made in communist countries.

### Fronts

While this writer belonged to the society, he learned that the group would sometimes carry out projects using a front organization.

In the summer of 1963, the society decided to picket Mader's Restaurant in Milwaukee, which was flying the United Nations flag along with the United States flag. When informed of the project, this writer was told not to reveal his affiliation with the John Birch Society, especially if a newspaper reporter asked. The front organization was another anti-communist group; the leader also being a member of the Birch Society. He served as the spokesman for the pickets.

The pickets were temporarily successful. The restaurant removed the UN flag. However, a number of citizens criticized the restaurant for yielding to the pickets and within several days the UN flag again was flying. The pickets continued for several days, but to no avail.

### Letter Writing

Members do a great deal of letter writing to their congressmen, senators, newspapers and other news media attempting to promote their ideas and "correct the distortions" that appear in the news media regarding communism.

Members also keep close watch over student organizations at state and private universities. Teachers are not

exempt from their scrutiny either, particularly those who teach history, political science or one of the other humanities.

The society continually attempts to recruit student members who can promote the society's ideas by joining student organizations and attaining leadership positions. These student members also serve as watchdogs over professors and their fellow students. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee was often a major topic of discussion at chapter meetings.

### Politics

A major activity for individual members is party politics, which meant the Republican Party in the Mil-

waukee area. In 1963, members already were hard at work in their ward units paying the way for the nomination of Barry Goldwater as the GOP presidential candidate. Members also worked for the election of other "conservative, anti-communist" candidates on all levels.

In the summer of 1963, members were enthusiastically talking about Goldwater's chances for the presidential nomination. A number of them also were members of Americans for Constitutional Action, a national organization founded by Kent and Phoebe Courtney of New Orleans, La.

That summer the ACA held a dance for the purpose of raising money for conservative candidates, particularly Goldwater. This writer was informed of this at a Birch meeting when he was asked to purchase a ticket from a person who was a member of both the society and the ACA. I later learned that the dance

chairman was a member of the Birch chapter to which I had previously belonged.

### Success

It is difficult to determine just how successful the John Birch Society has been in influencing either of the major political parties. However, this writer does know that members of the Birch Society have attained positions of leadership in the Republican Party on the local and state levels.

While a member, I learned that a Birch section leader was a committeeman for one of the Republican ward units in Milwaukee. Last November, a person who was a member of the Birch Society during 1963 and had mentioned to me his intention of running for some office in the future, unsuccessfully ran for the state assembly. He was overwhelmingly defeated by his Democratic opponent in a predominantly Democratic

area. However, he was elected committeeman of his ward unit along with his slate of officers.

A third member, Kenneth Merkel, was successful in getting elected to the state assembly last November. Soon after the election it became known that he was a member of the society and he publicly admitted it.

In the spring of 1963 I attended a chapter meeting where members discussed among themselves the need to ask Merkel to run for some office. They decided in the affirmative.

Prior to the 1964 presidential primary, my section leader asked me if anyone had asked me to be a delegate pledged to Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, who was entered in the Wisconsin primary. Somewhat surprised, I answered that I had not. Nothing further was ever mentioned.

In early 1964, I decided to



quit attending meetings. I could no longer face the idea of sitting through any more meetings listening to people discuss world problems by merely replaying Robert Welch's "party line." No longer could I listen to what I considered were grossly erroneous interpretations of historical events based on distorted information.

Members regarded Romulo Betancourt, former president of Venezuela, as a communist. He had initiated social and land reforms which led to the establishment of one of the few Democratic governments in the Southern Hemisphere. A main feature of his government was civil liberties.

Some members agreed with Welch that former President Dwight Eisenhower was "either a willing agent, or an integral and important part" of the communist conspiracy. Members also were convinced that the United States sold out Chiang Kai-shek and that the

United Nations is a communist-inspired institution.

This writer decided he had learned what he had set out to learn a year earlier. Having attended meetings, listened to discussions on numerous national and international problems, talked to members and participated in projects, I made several observations about the Birch Society and its members.

## Observations

The tendency to simplify all national and international problems and reduce them to ideological situations appeared to be common among all members. Their ideology eliminates for them many of the ambiguities, uncertainties and fine distinctions that would otherwise plague decision making.

For Birch members, it was a matter of either supporting the society's goals, or being an enemy of the group. Persons who were identified

as staunch anti-communists were regarded as patriotic Americans. Persons who took what members considered a soft stand on communism were regarded as dupes, communist sympathizers or communists.

Members often equated the goals of liberalism with the goals of communism in the United States. Thus the liberals' concern with civil rights often is attacked because the alleged goal of the communist party is a Negro Soviet Republic in the United States.

Anytime a person or organization takes a stand on an issue which happens to coincide with the stand currently taken by the Communist Party, that person or group is accused of furthering the cause of communism. No consideration is given to the possibility that the reasons for taking the identical stand may be quite different.

## 'The Truth'

A second characteristic this writer notices is the members' certainty of possessing the "truth" about the menace of communism. I was constantly impressed with their ability to believe, beyond any doubt, that they knew what was happening. And it was often frustrating and disheartening for them to watch Americans constantly "brainwashed" by the nation's news media, news commentators and government officials.

As one of their most important tasks is to keep well-informed by continually reading about communism (literature recommended by Welch), they feel well-equipped to convince the American people that their cause is a righteous one.

Birch members this writer knew felt they possessed the truth because they read only those publications which they had been assured told them what was actually happening in the world without "slating the news."

Certain newspapers, such as the Milwaukee Journal, were considered "liberal", left wing or "pinko." Most members regarded the Chicago Tribune

as the only honest and "Americanist" daily newspaper in the nation.

Members read a variety of publications published by the Birch Society or other anti-communist groups and anti-communist writers. A weekly newspaper published by a group of Catholic laymen at St. Paul, Minn., "The Wanderer," often was quoted at chapter meetings or during discussions.

This writer got the distinct impression that members were only reading those newspapers, magazines and books which told the members exactly what they wanted to believe. At the same time, there was no danger of being exposed to communist ideas.

The only radio news commentator they highly regarded was Bob Sjogrist, who broadcasts daily from Madison. Commentators and columnists such as Walter Lippmann, Edward P. Morgan, Chet Huntley and James Reston were looked upon with suspicion.

## Dedication

A third and important characteristic this writer found among members was their sincerity and dedication. They were dedicated to their cause much like the crusaders of the middle ages, when the latter were attempting to regain the Holy Land from the Turks.

And a large part of that dedication and zeal had as its focal point, or theme, the conflict between the forces of God and Americanism and the forces of atheistic communism. In films, the monthly bulletin, discussions and publications, this conflict was constantly emphasized.

This writer concluded that the emphasis on this particular theme was partly a play on members' emotions. It gave them the feeling that they were engaged in a life and death struggle, one in which no compromises can, or should be reached.

It appeared to this writer that the very intensity with which members involve themselves in the cause acts as a salve for whatever failures they may encounter. And

secondly this intense involvement is a means of glossing over, or avoiding, many of the irritating questions regarding their interpretation of history. Thus, at times, emotion tends to rule over reason; it is the crusader brandishing his sword against the enemy, whoever or wherever he may be, or however he may be disguised.

It appeared that most members were negative in their attitude. In explaining the basis of their political philosophy, one member com-

mented: "We are conservative because we are anti-communist." Members always were against something first; only secondarily for something.

They were pessimistic about the outcome of the Cold War. Most Birch members this writer knew thought that the United States would eventually surrender to the Soviet Union. All steps taken to eliminate the possibility of a major conflict between the two powers was seen as another retreat before the communist advance. The nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 and disarmament negotiations are but two cases of what members consider disastrous steps toward defeat.

The urgency of the Birch Society's cause also is a major characteristic this writer observed. Members often discussed the immediate necessity to elect more conservatives to save the nation from becoming communist. They warn that the U. S. Supreme Court is daily ruling in favor of communists; that the federal government, particularly the U. S. State Department, has been infiltrated by communists.

They say that time is running out. That the American people must heed their warning and act quickly if the Republic is to be saved. They urge Americans to join them in their fight; to help form discussion groups, write letters, run for elective offices, become active in and influence the policies of the major political parties.

Members of the John Birch Society have no doubt their cause is right. They only doubt if they can rally the American people to save the Republic before it is too late. For as the society's executive committee declared in a newspaper advertisement soon after the assassination of the late President John F. Kennedy:

"The time has come."



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Sheriff's Department Distributed Stickers Prepared by Birch Society

Sheriff Robert Baird today acknowledged that his department distributed an auto sticker prepared and paid for by the John Birch society, but said the society did not benefit by the move.

James P. Buckley, 611 E. Oxford rd., clerk of the state assembly, wrote the sheriff yesterday saying he had "incontrovertible evidence" that the county sheriff's department was distributing literature prepared and paid for by the John Birch society.

The literature mentioned was an auto sticker reading "Support Your Local Police." Baird said he did not know the stickers were from the Birch society when he first placed them on the counter at the sheriff's office. He said he was told later that they came from the society but since they did not bear the name of any organization he allowed them to remain on the counter.

The stickers arrived at the office early this year and the supply was exhausted some time ago, Baird said.

In this letter, Buckley said if the report of distribution were true "it would be appalling and, as a taxpayer and public official, I would strongly object to the use of public monies and a public agency aiding and abetting, however unwittingly, an organization which poses a se-



James Buckley

rious threat to the health of American democracy."

Baird said no members of his staff were told to carry or distribute the stickers and that the stickers were supplied the department free of charge. He said the American Automobile assn. and several insurance companies

supply free information for distribution as well. No department time was spent in distribution, the sheriff said.

Buckley said that while the message on the stickers "is laudable, it is nothing less than an effort to gain influence through an important agency of the public."

Baird said he was neither for or against the John Birch society and that as long as the stickers do not reflect the name of that organiza-

tion and are as Buckley admits, laudable, he sees nothing wrong with their distribution.

Buckley told the sheriff "it is your high responsibility and mine, as well as others in positions of public trust, to denounce the society without qualification."

Buckley told the sheriff that if investigation supports the advisability of a John Doe investigation into the society's influence in Waukesha county politics or public life, he would meet to discuss the legality and merits of such a course.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 1, PAGE 1  
WAUKESHA FREEMAN  
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Sheriff Robert Baird

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## Bircher Says Restrictions Injure Poor

John T. Brown, a vice-president of Falk Corp. and a council member of the John Birch society, said

Sunday that poverty problems could be helped by development of individual responsibility and freedom. "We don't think we can cure poverty," he said

in answer to questions on what the Birch society believes should be done with poverty problems.

Brown spoke at a meeting of the Beacon club at the Wauwatosa YMCA branch. The club is a discussion group, most of whose members belong to Unitarian Church West. Most of the audience did not share Brown's views.

He said the poor could be helped by "unfettering them from regulations restricting their own effort."

Asked by a member of the audience what regulations were fettering the poor of Latin-American descent in the area of S. 6th st. and W. National av., he said he didn't know.

"I'm not sure they need so much help," he said. "Many persons from other countries have come here, and in the privileges that this country offers have done well."

"If they are intelligent and willing to work they should have a job. If they're not it's a different answer." He did not elaborate.



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PART 2, PAGE 7  
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# Knowles Will Review Naming of Bircher to UN Commission

Journal Madison Bureau

Madison, Wis.—Gov. Knowles said Monday that he would reassess his appointment of a John Birch society member to the governor's commission on the United Nations.

Knowles was asked at his press conference whether he would have appointed Mrs. John McEwan, 9064 N. Tennyson dr., Bayside, to the commission, if he had known her connection with the society.

He said he would have had some real second thoughts about it had he known. He added: "The philosophy of the Birch society in my opinion is wrong." As for Robert Welch, the head of the society, Knowles said: "He's a kook—he's at least an unusual individual."

## No Purge Planned

Knowles said, however, that his stand on Birch members belonging to the Republican party was the same as his stand on academic freedom.

"You don't try to purge philosophies as long as people work within the framework of an existing organization. We believe in the process of democracy and majority rule," he said.

Knowles said the Republican party welcomed anyone who would work toward the principles of the party as long as they advocated and recognized the democratic process.

He noted that the Republican party made its choices in open caucuses. He added: "I don't believe in the approach of cells and secret meetings."

## Knowles Backs UN

Knowles said he had not heard from Mrs. McEwan since he had appointed her. He reaffirmed his own support of the United Nations, saying that no one thought it was a perfect organization, but until some-

thing better comes along, I'm supporting the UN."

[Mrs. McEwan told a Journal reporter Monday that she had no comment on Knowles' plan to reassess his decision.]

The governor repeated his support for a highway bonding program and said he was disappointed with the vote against the bill by the legislature's joint finance committee.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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**Incredible Appointment**

Gov. Knowles has named an avowed member and chapter leader of the John Birch society, which rabidly opposes the United Nations, to membership on the governor's committee on the UN. By any standard, the appointment is incredible. And it may be that some others he named are of the same caliber.

The committee, set up by executive order in 1959, exists "for the purpose of co-ordinating and planning Wisconsin's official participation in the observation of United Nations day." Its basic purpose "is to carry on an educational program about the United Nations as an instrument for peace." Bruno V. Bitker, the committee chairman who has worked vigorously to carry out the mandate, wasn't even consulted on the appointment as he has been in the past.

The appointee, Mrs. John McEwan, of Bayside, came to the governor's attention when she and three other persons visited his office and urged him to disband the UN committee. Instead, Knowles appointed her to it.

One of the basic tenets of the Birch society is to "get the US out of the UN and the UN out of the US." The wisest solution to this political boner would be to get Mrs. McEwan out of the governor's committee on the UN. His promised reassessment should be fast.

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## Birch Store Volunteer Put on UN Committee

A volunteer worker at the John Birch society's American Opinion bookstore here is among those Gov. Knowles appointed to the governor's committee on the United Nations, it was learned Monday.

The appointee, Mrs. Roger S. Bessey, 2155 Elm Tree rd., Elm Grove, could not be reached. Her husband said he did not know whether she was a Birch member. Society members donate their time to the bookstore, at 7410 W. State st., Wauwatosa. But officials have said it is not necessary to be a member to support the bookstore.

The Birch society believes that the UN is controlled by Communists and that the United States should get out of it. Last week it was announced

that Knowles had appointed Mrs. John McEwan, 9004 N. Tennyson dr., Bayside, to the committee. She is a Birch chapter leader.

Another appointee, Father Francis Drabinowicz, pastor of St. Mary's Catholic church, Hales Corners, gave the invocation at a Birch membership drive meeting last November. He said Monday that he was not a Birch member and did support the UN. The occasion for the meeting was a visit by top Birchers — Robert Welch, founder, John Rousselot, national public relations director, and Thomas Anderson, a council member.

Other appointees to the governor's committee include Mrs. Gunnar Gunderson, La Crosse,

a prominent Republican whose husband is past president of the American Medical association. She said Monday that she supported the UN very much.

There are a number of conservative Republicans among the appointees.

At a meeting Sunday night, John T. Brown, a Birch council member, was questioned about Mrs. McEwan's appointment.

The questioner, a member of the Beacon club, said the committee's purpose was to promote the UN.

"If it is to promote, I don't know why he appointed her," Brown said.

Brown said he believed that the UN was a destructive force in American society.

At a meeting of the Milwaukee chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action, members voted to send a letter to Knowles to protest his grouping the ADA with the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch society. Knowles had said he was not in favor of any splinter groups, and named the ADA with the other two.

The ADA also opposed Knowles' appointment of Mrs. McEwan and voted to send him a letter protesting it.

John Birch council member says poverty problems could be helped by development of individual responsibility and freedom. Story on page 7, part 2.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 1, PAGE 1  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
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# GOP Chief Says He Failed to Tell Knowles of Bircher

By GORDON L. RANDOLPH  
Of The Journal Staff

Ody J. Fish, state Republican chairman, said Monday he knew in advance that a Bay-side Republican woman named to the governor's committee on the United Nations was a John Birch.

Fish, who makes recommendations for appointments by the governor, said, however, that he did not tell Gov. Knowles.

Fish was in Ohio on business Monday and would not say what his specific recommendation was concerning the appointee, Mrs. John McEwan, 9064 N. Tennyson dr.

The committee's main purpose is to conduct an educational program about the UN as an instrument of peace. The John Birch society believes that Communists control the UN and that the United States should get out of it.

Knowles said Monday that he would have had some second thoughts on the appointment had he known that Mrs. McEwan was a member of the society. He said he would reassess the appointment.

Fish said he knew that Mrs. McEwan was a John Birch member when he forwarded to Knowles the list of persons interested in appointment to the UN committee.

But he said he did not know that Mrs. Roger S. Bessey, 2155 Elm Tree rd., Elm Grove, another appointee, was a volunteer worker at the Birch society's American Opinion library and bookstore in Wauwatosa.

Fish said he did not inform the governor of Mrs. McEwan's affiliation because the governor already had decided to appoint her to the committee after she

and three other persons personally asked him to abolish it.

Knowles has said he thought Mrs. McEwan would get a better understanding of the UN if she served on the committee.

Names of prospective appointees are examined by Fish and he makes recommendations to the governor. He said 1,140 appointments had been handled and that it was difficult to go into detail on all candidates.

He said the UN committee was not an arm of the Republican party but was a citizens' group that should have a broad representation of views, just as there is in the UN itself.

He said the governor did not attempt to determine an appointee's views but selected competent and intelligent people.

Ralph G. Kraft, chairman of the 9th congressional district, in which Mrs. McEwan lives, remarked that one person of the 47 on the committee could

not take it over. Kraft is past chairman of the North Shore GOP club, of which Mrs. McEwan is a member.

"A devil's advocate never hurts," he said. "Strong UN supporters will have to sharpen their arguments."

But Mrs. McEwan's appointment dismayed some Republicans who have been fighting radical right influence in the party. Among them was Wilbur Renk, Sun Prairie, who said:

"If she (Mrs. McEwan) has the poor judgment to be a member of the John Birch society, she does not have the sound judgment to be a member of the governor's committee. She should be replaced."

John A. Hazelwood, chairman of the Milwaukee county Young Republicans, commented:

"I am furious. Politically it is a bad mistake."

But he said a good argument could be made that "another viewpoint should be represented" on the UN committee.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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# Birchite Claims Group Unpolitical

The John Birch society is not a political organization and does not support political candidates, a member of its national council declared Sunday.

John Brown of Racine said that in preference to political victory the society hopes "to achieve its ends when it has informed enough people of the problems involved in our country."

There are several misconceptions of the John Birch society, Brown claimed.

"One is that we are a secret organization."

"Another is that we see Communists under every bed."

On the first point he said the society refuses to publish a list of its membership only because "some persons who become known as members of the John Birch society have some unfortunate experiences."

He said they could face pressures in clubs, organizations and their jobs.

On the second point he said the society is on record as suspecting fewer persons of Communist ties than "many other organizations do."

"It's not their numbers we fear. It's their effectiveness," Brown said.

When questioned about his statement that the society was not a political organization, Brown explained that the group did not forbid its members from being active in politics, but the society itself was not.

"We are political scientists, studying the situation and recommending changes," he said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 1, PAGE 5  
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# Should Not Bar Birchers From GOP, Knowles Says

Sentinel Madison Bureau

Madison, Wis. — Belonging to a secret society, like the John Birch society, should not be a bar to membership in the Republican party, Gov. Knowles said Monday.

Knowles, who said he endorsed the Oct. 1 action of the state GOP executive committee criticizing the Birch society, called Robert Welch, founder of the organization, a "kook." The society, he said, is a splinter group, negative, ultra-conservative and uses the ostrich approach by burying its head in the sand.

But, he said, he felt it would be inconsistent with his support of academic freedom to make a "broad attack against individuals and groups."

"You don't try to purge philosophies," Knowles said.

As long as people operate within the democratic framework of a political party, they have a right to belong, he said.

"The private, secret associations they belong to should have no relation to whether they can belong to a political party," he said.

At his press conference, Knowles said he would have had "some real second thoughts" about appointing Mrs. John McEwan, 9064 N. Tennyson dr., Bayside, to the governor's commission on the United Nations if he had known she was a Birch society member.

Knowles said she asked him earlier this year to abolish the commission. He thought it would be educational to appoint her to the commission instead, he said.

Knowles said that he considers himself a strong supporter of the UN and has made

many public statements expressing that support.

Asked if he would leave Mrs. McEwan on the UN commission, Knowles said, "I'll assess it."

He acknowledged that persons with "very conservative philosophies," like Birch society members, have managed temporary takeovers of some local Republican groups in the state. But, he said, they lose control when other Republicans "rise up and express their philosophies."

He said that he expected the ultraconservatives to have candidates for state office at either the GOP convention or in the 1966 election.

On the subject of highway bonding, Knowles said that he would like to see the bonding bill passed, tested in court and put into effect quickly. He said that there was not time to wait for approval of a direct debt constitutional amendment in 1967.

He said that the bonding bill before the assembly could be amended so that the debt would become state direct debt if the constitution were amended.

He said that he was not satisfied, however, with the devices proposed in the past to limit debt—a percentage of income or property value or a dollar figure.

Knowles said that he does not support a bill which would raise the salaries of the governor and other constitutional officers. He will line veto any increase in the salaries of constitutional officers that reaches his desk, he said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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# Bircher to Remain In State UN Unit

MILWAUKEE (AP) — Gov. Warren P. Knowles said last night that when he appointed Mrs. John McEwan to the governor's commission on the United Nations he did not know that she was a member of the John Birch society.

But he would not rescind her appointment because of her membership in the Birch society, the chief executive added.

The governor said the Milwaukee woman was one of a group of persons who approached him last spring and urged him to abolish the UN commission. Knowles said he replied that he would not do so but would put her on the commission and that she might be able to offer some idea on what it should do.

The Birch society has listed as one of its continuing projects an attempt to get the United States out of the United Nations.

Mrs. McEwan, who has said she has been a Birch society member for four years, learned through the newspapers yesterday that she was one of the governor's 47 appointees to the UN commission.

She said she intends to accept because the commission is "not doing any good, by presenting only a rosy view" of the United Nations. She

said her aim on the commission would be to present her views against the UN—because the state advisory group should not be "just blindly" promoting it.

Meanwhile, the Milwaukee county Democratic platform committee demanded withdrawal of Mrs. McEwan's appointment which it called "illogical and irresponsible."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 3  
WAUKESHA FREEMAN  
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## Priest Criticized UN, but Says He Backs It

A Catholic priest who is a new member of the governor's committee on the United Nations repeated Tuesday that he supported the UN and refused to explain why he had written an article blasting it.

The priest, Father Francis Drabinowicz, pastor of St. Mary's Catholic church, Hales Corners, gave the invocation at a John Birch society membership drive last November when top Birch leaders visited Milwaukee.

In a bylined article in the May 2 issue of the Milwaukee *Met*, Father Drabinowicz called the charter of the UN "a throwback to barbarism and rule by a dictatorship of laws based not on Christian principles but on the power of the ruling clique."

"We sit down at the peace table with our enemies who have sworn to bury us," the story said. "We sit down at the peace table with men who EAT their constituents."

### "Bedrock for Socialism"

"The bedrock for world socialism upon which the United Nations is built can be found in articles 55 and 56 of the charter."

"This simply means that the United States is bound by treaty to uphold its pledge to promote unlimited government meddling around the world."

The article shared a page of the weekly newspaper with an article which called the UN a myth. It was written by Mrs. John McEwan, a Birch chapter leader, also newly appointed to the committee.

### Calls UN a Good Thing

Father Drabinowicz said Monday he was not a Birch member and that he supported the UN.

Asked Tuesday to explain how he could support the UN and still devote an entire article to criticizing its purpose and structure, he said:

"I support the UN because I think it is a good thing. I'm entitled to my opinions."

Mrs. McEwan, 6004 N. Tenneyson dr., Bayside, who said she believed the United States should get out of the UN, has promised to work toward this end on the committee.

Some committee members said Tuesday that they thought they could convert her.

One or two said a divergent view might stimulate discussion. Most said they were sorry about the appointment.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 1, PAGE 2  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 10/12/65  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE  
☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-7

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 3 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

*no cc Bureau*



10-8-65

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have recently finished reading the books "The Naked Communist" by Strommen & "None Dare Call it Treason" by John A. Stormer. I find I am very disturbed - if what these men write is basically correct - refusing them a few factual deviations - there should be more Americans opposed in some way to what is going on.

Would you please answer the following questions for me -

1. Are these books basically correct? If so I want to distribute copies in the community.
2. Is the John Birch Society the type of organization a truly patriotic American should belong to?

I appeal to you because I feel I will get the most unbiased opinion from a true American.

Thank you.

Sincerely

P.S. Perhaps I should add that what I am looking for is the best way to channel my efforts as a private citizen towards preservation of our Freedom.

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 15 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

100-13570-75

October 13, 1965



Dear 

I received your letter of October 8th and want to thank you for your confidence in me.

With respect to your inquiries, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. Further, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. Therefore, I am certain you will understand why I am not in a position to be of help in this instance. The FBI has not investigated the John Birch Society.

100-13570

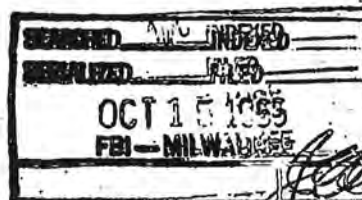
Enclosed is some literature it is hoped will be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

① Milwaukee - Enclosure



100-13570-76

b6  
b7c

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Birch Society Witch Hunt Gets Muddy

**D**URING THE STORMY senatorial career of Wisconsin's Joe McCarthy, he was mercilessly criticized for what his foes called practicing "guilt by association". This, in essence, was inferring that a person was a Communist, was influenced by Communists or had Communist connections because there were known Communists in his acquaintance.

Those who shrieked loudest about what came to be called "McCarthyism" were mostly Democrats. They became so vociferous as to attempt his impeachment but this failed. And while Sen. McCarthy has long since died, guilt by association is rearing its ugly head again — this time under the practiced hand of more high-placed politicians.

They are presently raising a fuss because Gov. Knowles appointed Mrs. John McEwan of Bayside to the governor's commission on the United Nations. The reason? She has had connections with a John Birch society project. This triggered a witch hunt by Democratic legislative leaders who now claim a second alleged Birch society member Mrs. Roger Bessey of Elm Grove, is a member of the commission and that is bad. Claimed Sen. Martin Schreiber (D-Milwaukee) yesterday in the full-blown technique of guilt by association:

"In appointing a member of the John Birch society to the governor's commission on the UN, Gov. Knowles has given a new destructive power to the cancerous growth in our community."

Lt. Gov. Patrick Lucey added insult to injury in Oconomowoc last night when he charged that the appointment of Mrs. McEwan "is one of the most absurd appointments in the history of the state." And then he added something that not only puzzles us but seems to reflect a rare kind of stupidity:

"The appointment is particularly inappropriate at a time when Arthur Goldberg resigned his post on the su-

preme court to become our representative on the UN and when Pope Paul makes a special trip to the UN."

If we interpret his thoughts correctly, the lieutenant governor is attempting to paint a public image of the United Nations suddenly set upon by evil forces. This smacks of religious and racial bigotry the like of which has not been demonstrated by many even in these troubled times.

Former President Truman often said during the McCarthy era that what people were seeking turned out to be nothing more than red herring. We are not sure what fish or fowl this new attack on people and institutions will best describe the current campaign to besmirch and vilify. All we can conclude at the moment is that some mighty capable rascals are stirring up the mud.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 16  
WAUKESHA FREEMAN  
WAUKESHA, WISCONSIN

Date: 10/13/65  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: HENRY A. YOUMAN  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Milwaukee  
☐ Being Investigated

100-135701

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 19 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

*No cc Bureau*

(page Below)

# Negro Birch Speaker Raps Rights Leaders

A Negro woman, who was an FBI informer while a member of the Communist party for



**Mrs. Brown** criticized the civil rights movement Wednesday in a speech to about 200 women at the Holiday Inn West. Mrs. Julia Brown, Cleveland, a member of the John Birch society's American Opinion speakers' bureau, told the women: "There are people in the civil rights movement who have been duped or doped by the Communists." She said, how-

ever, that "there are very few Communist Negroes."

She called the Rev. Martin Luther King, jr., "the biggest enemy that the Negro people have," and said: "Martin Luther King is for Martin Luther King."

Mrs. Brown called on the women to withhold financial support from northern ministers who take part in civil rights demonstrations in the south.

"Don't support a minister who goes running all over the country instead of staying in the pulpit where he belongs," she said. "If he pickets, forget it."

Mrs. Brown said she was a member of the Communist party in Cleveland from 1951 to 1960 and informed to the FBI on party matters.

The speech was the last in a series sponsored by Mrs. Burleigh Jacobs, wife of a Milwaukee industrialist.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART 2, PAGE 11  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

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*no cc Bureau*  
*cc 134-0-279*



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**The Gallup Poll Says:****Klan, Birchers Get Low Rating**

© By George Gallup, American Institute of Public Opinion

The Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch society rate lowest in popularity and degree of respect among eight organizations studied in a recent Gallup poll.

The poll sought to appraise the attitude of the public toward certain groups which are frequently associated with controversial issues.

**The detailed findings**

	Highly Favorable	Highly Unfavorable
Ku Klux Klan	1	76
John Birch Society	3	40
American for Democratic Action	13	9
Congress of Racial Equality	17	17
National Association for Advancement of Colored People	17	23
Daughters of American Revolution	19	4
American Medical Association	50	3
Federal Bureau of Investigation	54	1

The method used to make this appraisal was the Stapel scale.

The scale is a simple device consisting of 10 squares or

boxes. The person being tested is given a card showing 10 boxes and is told that the top box represents the highest degree of liking, the lowest box, the lowest degree. He is then asked to indicate how far up or down the scale he would place the organization.

Obviously, persons who are unfamiliar with an organization cannot rate it on this scale. This in itself becomes an interesting fact. Of the organizations listed, the most familiar to the American people is the FBI. Only 2% were unable to rate this organization. The "no opinion" vote in the case of the others is as follows: KKK, 10%; AMA, 13%; NAACP, 14%; CORE, 31%; Birch to-

ciety, 33%; DAR, 38%; and the ADA, 52%.

Although very few support either the Birch society or the Klan in any major population group, it is interesting to note where favorable sentiment is greatest.

The Birch society has least support in the east, greatest support in the south. For every 100 persons in the east, 47 give the society a "highly unfavorable" rating. This compares with a figure of 30 in the south.

As might be expected, the Klan finds more favorable sentiment in the south than in other areas of the nation. But, significantly, it is highly unpopular even in this region. A total of 59 out of every 100 persons in this area gave the Klan the lowest rating. This compares with a figure of 31 outside the south.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper city and state)

PART 1 PAGE 16  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

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DEC 20 1965	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

120 cc  
Bureau  
cc 157-222

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Grede Is Lauded by Birch Chief

ELM GROVE — William J. Grede, 14505 Peneau Blvd., is lauded as a "pillar of iron against the eroding winds of welfarism" in the current issue of American Opinion, the John Birch society magazine.

Grede's portrait appears on the cover of the magazine, and a one page tribute to him was written by Robert Welch, founder of the society and editor of the magazine.

This is the second time Grede's picture appeared in the magazine. A picture and tribute to him appeared in 1957.

Grede, who is chairman of the board of Grede Foundries, one of which is in Waukesha, is on the executive committee of the Birch society council. He was one of the founding members of the society, and is believed to be one of Welch's top advisors.

Welch's tribute to Grede says that in public service and the YMCA "Bill has become one of the best known and best loved of America's industrial leaders."

Grede "believes that . . . the constant reduction of the size and reach of government is social progress promoting growth," the tribute says.

(Indicate page,  
name of news-  
paper, city &  
state)

SECTION 1 PAGE 4  
WAUKESHA FREEMAN  
WAUKESHA, WISC.

Date: 1/13/66  
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Author:  
Editor: HENRY A.  
YOUMANS

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Office: MILWAUKEE

100-135707

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JAN 17 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

*no card  
Bureau*

# THE COMMITTEE ON POLICE SUPPORT

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HERBERT V. SCHULTZ

Support your local police! They need it! There has been a subtle, but now increasingly bolder and more extensive effort to harass and discredit local police forces and their individual officers going on in this country for more than a decade. In addition to their regular crime work-load, the police are faced with problems in the community created by probable Communist agitators.

The United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's booklet, *A Communist Plot Against The Free World Police*, said: "Our police are among the foremost guardians of freedom and thus a major target of the Communists." In testimony about Communist efforts to destroy the police in other countries the booklet said: "A smear campaign attempted to discredit the leaders among the rank and file . . . the Communist press specialized in playing up and discrediting all police action against rioters and mobs."

Among the more carefully plotted schemes for harassing the police, and discouraging all those who want to do their duty, has been the establishment of Police Review Boards, or similarly named groups — to which many gullible "do-gooders" and "bleeding hearts" have been giving support. The chief function of a Police Review Board, in practice if not in theory, is to make every individual officer afraid as to every action he takes, even in dealing with vicious criminals in emergency situations; afraid of being called before some board weeks or months later and condemned with loss of pay or maybe loss of job for having been too unkind to the poor "wayward unfortunates" who were about to shoot him in the back or stamp in his face when he tried to interfere with their "waywardness." A Police Review Board places the Police Force at the mercy of special interest groups.

As Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker said, in his address to the National Conference of Police Associations on July 20, 1964: "The policeman today is probably more the man in the middle than he has ever been in the history of this nation. The tendency of both public and the news media is to treat the police officer exactly on the same level as the criminal." In the January 1, 1965 FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, J. Edgar Hoover wrote: "When carefully considered, it is clear this drive for external boards is an ill-advised maneuver. It amounts to the usurpation of authority rightfully belonging to the police commander. It is a practice which could damage effective law enforcement and reduce the orderly processes of community life to petty bickering, suspicion, and hatred."

There is a dangerous tendency in the United States today to place a greater importance on concern for the criminal: and there is a lack of concern for the injuries to the police and decent citizens.

Support of local law enforcement agencies by all good citizens everywhere is going to become especially important now that possibly Communist inspired racial riots are becoming a regular part of the American scene. Good citizens must work hard to counteract the communist-promoted "police brutality" sloganeering, a decades-old communist tactic diabolically designed to hamstring proper police action.

We suggest the following programs: 1. Co-operate fully with all local law enforcement agencies. 2. Support your local fire and police commission and oppose civilian police review boards. 3. Write a letter to the Police Chief telling him you are proud of your police force and your police officers when they have



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Editor Due to Speak on 'Red Conspiracy'

George S. Schuyler, an associate editor on the Pittsburgh Courier, a weekly newspaper aimed at a Negro audience, will speak at 8 p.m. Thursday at Victory hall, 3665 E. Grange av., Cudahy. He will talk about "The International Communist Conspiracy." His appearance is sponsored by the Milwaukee TACT committee of the John Birch society.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART III, PAGE 6  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/4/66  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title: JOHN BIRCH  
SOCIETY - MILWAUKEE

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SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 5 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Race Says Telephone Lecture 'Birch' Inspired

BY WILLIAM C. CAREY  
Post-Crescent Staff Writer

OSHKOSH — A telephone lecture being transmitted in the Fox Cities area — accusing President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara of "treason" — came under fire from a Wisconsin congressman Saturday.

Rep. John Race (D-Fond du Lac), whose Sixth District includes Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha and a precinct in Appleton, charged that "a John Birch Society front organization known as Let Freedom Ring (LFR) is transmitting right-wing telephone messages in the Fox Cities area."

Race, a leading critic of John Birch activities, was in Washington last week when he first heard of the telephone messages in his district. He was in Oshkosh Saturday afternoon and in Fond du Lac at night where he spoke to a group of district postal employees.

## Race Makes Calls

Race, contacted here, said he had called the Appleton number, and it also was checked out from Washington.

The Fond du Lac lawmaker said by dialing a number being circulated in the Fox Cities area, residents can listen to a 90-second lecture which, among several things, accuses President Johnson and McNamara of "treason."

The tape recorded lecture is paid for locally by J. W. Steinhardt of Appleton and promises to carry a new message weekly. Race said the message asked that donations for the project be sent to P.O. Box 326 in Neenah.

Backing up his charge that Let Freedom Ring was linked with the John Birch Society, Race stated, "A check with postal officials in Washington reveals that Mr. Steinhardt has instructed for two Neenah post offices to use the name of

of Let Freedom Ring and another (Box 304) in the name of the John Birch Society."

Race said the Let Freedom Ring organization was founded in Florida by Dr. William Campbell Douglass, a leader of the John Birch Society in that state and organizer of Florida's "ultra right-wing Construction Party."

"Until several months ago," Race said, "LFR telephone messages were transmitted anonymously throughout the country."

"Since that time, however, pressure brought to bear against American Telegraph and Telephone Co. by concerned citizens from both political parties has resulted in the policy (by the company) that all messages must identify sponsors."

The Let Freedom Ring messages are believed to be comparatively new in the Fox Valley and there is no indication of any in northern Wisconsin.

Messages broadcast in other cities previously, Race said, have charged the United States is being disarmed "by traitors in the Johnson administration," and that the National Council of Churches is openly promoting bloodshed through armed revolution by Negroes.

## "Outlandish Scripts"

"One of the most outlandish scripts put out by this organization," Race said, "was a charge that a plan was being developed at the University of Michigan to develop 'systematic house-to-house search of the United States for arms of any kind'."

"The search, according to the LFR was to be made by the U. S. Army, blocking off five states at a time with the entire civilian population to be disarmed by 1965," Race added.

"These charges," Race said, "are of course false and ridiculous. They are typical of the John Birch line and are designed to put fear and hate within the reach of everyone."

Race claimed last year the traditionally conservative California Federation of Republican Women adopted a resolution labeling LFR messages as "false and treacherous propaganda," and asked for a Federal Bureau of Investigation probe of the activity.

## GOP Women Concerned

"Apparently" the Republican women were concerned — and rightly so — over an LFR script labeling former President Dwight Eisenhower "pro-communist," Race said.

Race said he uncovered information that Steinhardt has a franchise agreement with Let Freedom Ring and Dr. Douglass, with scripts being provided by the latter.

The scripts cost the subscriber \$24 the first year and \$12 a year thereafter, according to Race. He said the "local outlet" agrees to use at least 40 of the 52 scripts each year.

There is provision, Race said he learned, that an average of one broadcast per month must be devoted to air local issues in the immediate area.

## "Often Shocking"

Race said Dr. Douglass has told subscribers to "Let Freedom Ring bring to your area a hard-hitting, often shocking program that is on the air 24 hours a day. You will be amazed at the frantic reaction you will get from your enemies — they will hate you."

The Fond du Lac congressman said the LFR messages are used in Florida and other states to publicize local John Birch meetings.

Congressman Race said that while he defended freedom of expression, he was "deeply concerned" over the "traitor" charge and other statements in Let Freedom Ring messages in the Fox Cities and other parts of the country.

In his appearance at Fond du Lac Saturday night, Race digressed from his talk to warn of "the John Birch and Let Freedom Ring danger." He said it had spread to the Fox Cities region.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1  
APPLETON POST-CRESCENT  
APPLETON, WISCONSIN

cc sent Bureau

Date: 5/22/66

Edition:

Author:

Editor: JOHN B. TORINUS

Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character: IS - MISCEL  
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 1 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

ASAC



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Appleton Housetrailer Phone Transmittina Birch Message

(Another Story on Page 1)

A telephone in a modest house-trailer on County BB west of Appleton is transmitting "Let Freedom Ring" messages as part of the John Birch movement in the Fox Valley.

Hundreds of Fox Cities residents—many of them curious—have called the number this past week.

The transcribed message attacks President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara for their "treasonous farce", and says the defenses of the United States are being destroyed.

Sponsor of the recorded attacks is Jerry W. Steinhart, who told The Post-Crescent Saturday that he is a member of the John Birch Society.

Steinhart said he would make no further comment and advised, "Send me a letter."

Steinhart said he was a native of Wisconsin and has lived in this area about a year, being employed at Neenah. He would not divulge his place of employment.

Steinhart was at work Friday afternoon when an attempt was made to locate him at his home in the Country Estates Mobile Home Court.

He has two telephones, including the message transmitter leased from the Wisconsin Telephone Co.

Steinhart was reluctant to talk about his "Let Freedom Ring" role at first, but in reply to a direct question, declared:

## 'Help My Country'

"Yes, I am a member of the John Birch Society and I am real proud to be because it is one way to help my country."

Steinhart indicated he has been a Birch Society member for about a year, joining after coming to the Fox Cities. He would not say to what chapter he belonged. There are chapters in Appleton, Neenah, Green Bay,

Neenah, Appleton, Green Bay.

Repeatedly, Steinhart said he would be glad to answer questions—put to him in a letter.

## 'Attacks From Radicals'

Told his project and recorded message accusing President Johnson and McNamara of "treason" had been strongly criticized by Rep. John Race (D-Fond du Lac) Steinhart said, "I don't want to even discuss it. We are used to these kind of attacks from radicals."

Steinhart would not say, as Race had claimed, that he had a "Let Freedom Ring" franchise with Florida connections.

The transcribed message being beamed out from Steinhart's trailer home claims the United States is becoming a "sitting duck" for atomic destruction and compared the country's present military might to "a rusty Edsel."

Certain newspaper stories—without attribution—are quoted in which McNamara is accused of destroying the Strategic Air Command (SAC) without having anything to take its place.

It is charged McNamara has said the country could rely on missiles for defense, but "missiles are being sold at public auction." It claimed missile sites were being shut down in several states.

Another claim was the country's distant early warning system was "being eliminated by Mac-the-Knife."

It warns Russia and Communists have atom bombs and the United States is vulnerable to destruction and makes reference to President Johnson and McNamara continuing "this treasonous farce."

Other allegations are made, closing with a note that further information can be obtained by writing to "Nightmare" at a Florida address. It says the message is sponsored by J. W. Steinhart of Appleton and contributions are being received at Neenah Post Office box.

## 'Country Needs It'

Steinhart said as far as he was concerned, he wanted no personal publicity. However, he felt "the country needs it," referring to his message.

A telephone company spokesman said an order was placed sometime ago to install the equipment for J. W. Steinhart at the trailer court west of Appleton.

"There is no way we can police transcribed messages," he said, pointing out there are many uses for the service such as "Dial a Prayer," "Dial the Weather" and many others.

## 'Not Judge and Jury'

"And we are not the judge and jury in the use of words," the company spokesman said. He said checks are made on complaints.

He said a company policy now requires the name and address of the person sponsoring the message be included at the end. The installation charge is about \$25 for the phone unit, with the monthly service charges about \$30.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE B9  
APPLETON POST-CRESCENT  
APPLETON, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/22/66

Edition:

Author:

Editor: JOHN B. THORINUS

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Character: IS-NISCEL

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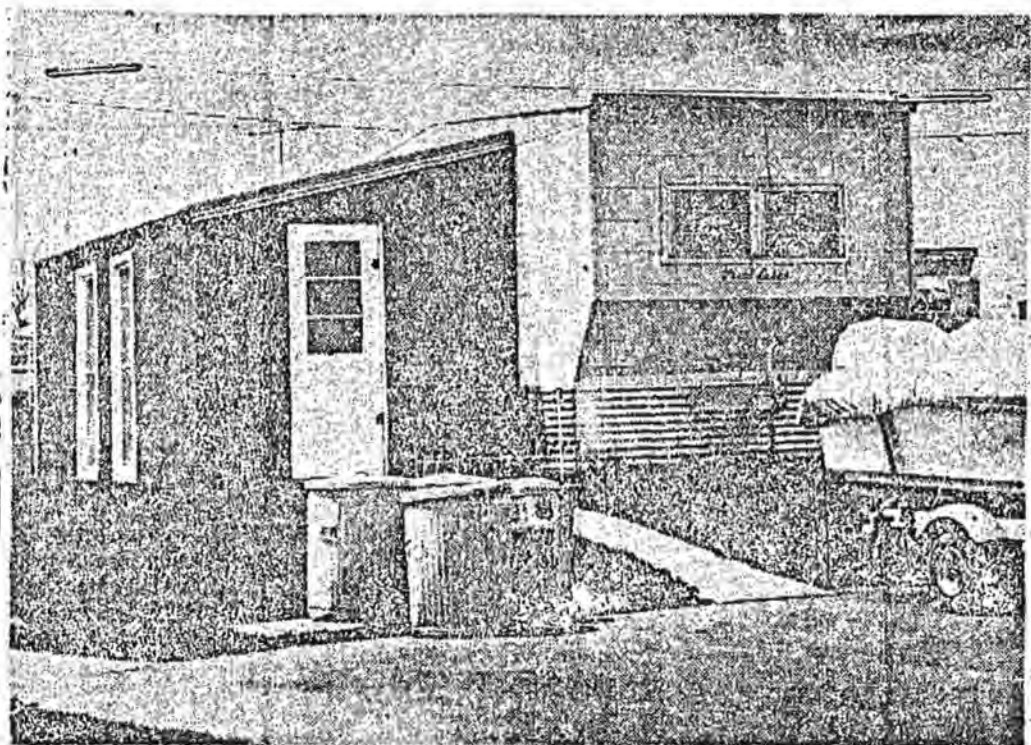
☐ Being Investigated

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ASAC

100-12520-85

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 1 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



A Telephone Unit in this mobile home west of Appleton is transmitting verbal attacks, accusing President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara of "treasonal farce." It is sponsored by J. W. Steinhardt of the John Birch Society. (Post-Crescent Photo)



(Mount Clipping)

## d NAM, YMCA

## Grede, Birch Leader, Has Ser

By MILDRED FREESE  
Of The Journal Staff

Handsome and proudly erect at 69, William J. Grede rose to greet his visitor with a warm handshake and a big smile.

He announced that he was not quite sure why he was allowing an interview. As all John Birch society leaders do, he regularly condemns the press for "smearing" Birch members and for "not printing the truth about communism." For the next two and a half hours, however, he agreeably answered questions.

Grede (pronounced Grady) is not only "Mr. Birch" in Milwaukee. He has said many times, since the society has become less secretive, that he and Robert Welch and nine other men founded it in 1958. As chairman of the five member executive committee of the society's council, he is one of the top Birch men in the country.

## Daughters Join Him

In Milwaukee, he and his two daughters, Mrs. Burrell E. Jacobs, Jr., and Mrs. Walter S. Davis form the local core of the right wing group.

Mrs. Davis was a leader in establishing the American Opinion Library, Inc., 7410 W. State St., Wauwatosa, a Birch bookstore of which she now is secretary-treasurer. She and her father, president of the corporation, located the store site. Mrs. Jacobs, a director, led in the establishment of a series of Birch lectures, now held annually here.

Grede was widely known before Welch thought of the Birch society.

He founded and now is board chairman of Grede Foundries, Inc., which has 1,700 employees; for many years he has been a leader in the National Association of Manufacturers; and he has been active in YMCA leadership at the local, national and international level.

## 3 Honorary Degrees

He received many honors, including three honorary degrees, before he became a Birch crusader.

In his office, at 1320 S. 1st St., Grede checked the accuracy of a list of his achievements. On the wall behind him was a framed copy of the Declaration of Independence.



William J. Grede

tion of Independence and a water color of what looked like a fishing shack. At his left, in front of a window which looked out on the corrugated metal wall of his foundry, was a set of "One Dozen Candles," paper bound books which are basic for Birch members.

Just what is the philosophy of this energetic, enthusiastic man which makes him a leader in what has come to be called right wing activities?

How realistic does he think he is in his latest effort as the head of a group to draft former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson as a presidential candidate in 1968? The group is called the 1976 committee because it hopes to "restore the American republic" in 10 years.

Grede clipped a hearing aid, which he has taken to using in recent years, on his shirt front and then found it unnecessary to use it.

My concept of freedom is

that it's an individual matter," he began. "You don't have freedom for groups. Our forefathers tried to guard against action of the mob or government."

"This philosophy springs from ideas that are basically religious rather than economic. People are free because they are children of God. Our forefathers drew up this idea, based on the idea of individualism, as I like to call it, as opposed to collectivism."

"This projects me into the YMCA, the Birch Society, the NAM, and the Foundation for Economic Education," (which awards fellowships to educators for study in business firms so they will have a better understanding of the business man's point of view).

"Let's see how they are related," Grede said, leaning back in his chair. "The YMCA works at developing character and a sense of individual worth. They do that through Christian emphasis on their program."

## Respect Other Individuals

"When they are responsible individuals, they will respect other individuals regardless of color."

[Although there are few Negroes and Jews in its membership, the Birch society recently has emphasized the fact that it has Negro speakers and a unit formed by Jews in New York city. It condemns the civil rights movement as being controlled by Communists or Communist sympathizers. In the south, Birch members and white supremacists have joined to form a new conservative party.]

"The NAM plugs for a free market, in which individuals have the greatest opportunity for effect," Grede continued.

"And the Birch society works for more limited government and more individual responsibility."

Since the number of his

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PART III, PAGE 1  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 7/6/66  
Edition: LATEST  
Author:  
Editor: LINDSAY HOBEN  
Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character: IS-MISCEL.

or  
Classification: 100-  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-86

100-13570-86

CHS

SERIAL

FOR INFORMATION





Mrs. Jacobs

Mrs. Davis

speeches across the country for the NAM and the YMCA has declined, Grede has increased his speaking locally on the Birch society and free enterprise. Last year, he said he gave 15 Birch speeches. So far this year he has given 13.

His world would "allow individuals to exercise free choice in a free market society," he said. "They would work for and pay the kind of wages that they decide. They would buy the kind of products, pay the prices and charge the kind of prices that they decide."

He believes that America's free market, around the turn of the century when the giant industrial fortunes were made, produced the best results.

#### Unions "Level Down"

"Rocefeller made a billion, but he made gasoline so cheap we have a gas station on every corner," Grede said.

What about the long hours and bad working conditions in factories? "Would those have been changed without unions?"

The change would have occurred a little faster, Grede said.

Grede calls unions "a leveling down process—not a leveling up." Only one of the nine plants of Grede Foundries has a union contract. When the company purchased the plant at Marshall, Mich., it took over an existing union contract. The company also is bargaining with unions at two local plants. His opposition to unions goes back to before the Wagner labor act, passed in 1935, which guarantees workers the right to bargain collectively.

#### Opposes Post Offices

When he speaks of less government, what would he eliminate?

He would not keep the federal postal system because it could, he believes, be done better and cheaper privately.

"I'd like to have the con-

tract the government has to deliver mail," he said with a laugh.

He would not have allowed the rural electrification administration to bring electricity to areas in which it was unprofitable for private utilities to string lines.

"Said Grede: "What did they have before? Candlepower? Let them have candles. As soon as the market is there or as soon as they are willing to pay for it, they could get electricity. The reason they live out there is because they like it."

#### Prefers Private Schools

He would have private rather than public schools because he believes that the cost is more per pupil in public schools than in comparable private schools.

What about the families who couldn't afford private schools?

"We'd get together and raise money for scholarships," he said. "That's what we always did in America."

What kinds of government would he keep?

"How much we need, I don't know," he said. "Whatever would allow the maximum of freedom and the minimum of government. . . . You have to have the military."

#### South High Graduate

Grede is a product of Milwaukee's south side. His father, a carriage maker, taught him that "if you're honest, work like hell and keep smiling, you will succeed," the industrialist said.

Grede was graduated from South Division high school in 1914, then worked for a year in a Milwaukee truck factory as a clerk. His salary was \$40 a month.

He then worked his way through two years at the University of Wisconsin. He said his father could have afforded to send him, but did not believe in college.

In World War I he went to officers' training school, was commissioned a lieutenant and then the war ended before he could see active service.

#### Married in 1919

In 1919 he married Margaret Weiss while working at a small Decatur (Ill.) foundry for \$150 a month as an assistant to the president. On his signed note, he bought \$1,500 worth of the company's stock. When the company was sold three years later, he made a \$3,000 profit on it. He got his start as an

industrialist with that money.

He described it this way:

"I paid all the money I had down on a foundry (in Wauwatosa) and signed notes for more money than I thought there was in the world—and I made it. I'm concerned that the men who follow me find the same opportunity."

Today he and his brother, Arthur L., vice-president of Grede

Foundries, share the ownership of Grede Publishing Corp. with the editor of its four Milwaukee area community newspapers.

Grede is a director of several manufacturing corporations; a trustee of Carroll college, Waukesha; active in the First Congregational church of Wauwatosa; an honorary vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers (he was president in 1952); and a member of the boards of the national, North Central area and the Milwaukee Metropolitan YMCA.

He was elected president of the national YMCA in May, 1952, and for six months carried on the duties of that office and the NAM presidency.

He also headed the 1956 state Republican finance campaign for funds and received an invitation to President Eisenhower's inauguration. Four years later, Eisenhower appointed him to a labor-management committee, but reportedly became irate when he learned of Grede's association with the Birch society.

#### Must Block Reds

How realistic does he think it is to propose Ezra Taft Benson for president? Grede said he thought that the group had started ahead of Barry Goldwater at the time his name was proposed. The purpose of the group is, he said, to keep the conservatives steadfast "until we win." The Birch society works "to stem the tide of the collectivists, which in the long run would mean communism. . . . We have got to prevent them from taking over."

Grede and his wife live at 14505 W. Juneau blvd., Elm Grove. Their two daughters and nine grandchildren live nearby on abutting properties. One of his sons-in-law, Burleigh Jacobs, is president of the company Grede founded. The other is an attorney.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## UWM Slates Discussions On Extremism

Political extremism and the democratic process will be the subject of an eight session seminar to be sponsored by the Institute of Governmental Affairs of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee.

The nature of extremism of both the left and the right, practices, beliefs, philosophies and origins of extremist groups will be discussed at the weekly sessions which will start 7:30 p.m. Wednesday and continue for seven successive Wednesday evenings.

Ira Rohter of the department of political science and the institute, will be the discussion leader for the seminar.

Spokesmen from various extremist groups will appear at the seminar sessions.

Two sessions will be devoted to a study of the radical right, including the John Birch society and the Anti-Communist Christian Crusade.

Two sessions will cover hate groups in America and four other sessions will be devoted to a study of the extreme left including the American Communist Party and the Progressive Labor Party.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

**PART I, PAGE 5B  
MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN**

Date: **9/23/66**  
Edition: **FINAL**  
Author:  
Editor: **HARRY SONNEBORN**  
Title: **JOHN BIRCH  
SOCIETY IS - MISCEL.**

Character:  
or

Classification: **100-**  
Submitting Office: **MILWAUKEE**

☐ Being Investigated

**100-13570-87**

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....  
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....  
**SEP 23 1966**  
FBI — MILWAUKEE

September 15, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Sir:

It is in reference to the John Birch Society that I am writing this letter to you. While in the Marine Corps some three months ago, I wrote for and received some information from that political interest group. The material was informative only, and to all ostensible purposes, it seemed in the highest traditions of America.

In order to get the opinion, or better yet, documented investigative research done on this organization, I would ask you, sir to please inform me as whether this organization has been proved to be either subversive or anti-American in any ways. Since I am thinking of taking a deeper interest in the organization, I would appreciate your sincere interest in my request.

Thank you.

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

[Redacted return address box]

ZIP CODE

[Redacted ZIP code box]



Respectfully,

[Redacted signature box]

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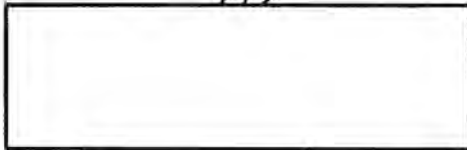
100-13570-88

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 23 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

[Handwritten signature]



September 21, 1966



Dear 

Your letter of September 15th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, it is not possible for me to furnish the data you requested. The FBI has not investigated the John Birch Society.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

*file here*  
*J*

① - Milwaukee - Enclosure

100-13570-89

SEARCHED <i>9</i>	INDEXED <i>13</i>
SERIALIZED <i>13</i>	FILED <i>13</i>
SEP 23 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



SAC, CHICAGO

10/14/66

SAC, BALTIMORE

(100-22382) -RUC-

[REDACTED]  
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

100-13570-82<sup>c</sup>

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for  
Operations, U.S. Army Intelligence Command, Fort Holabird,  
Baltimore, Maryland, advised SA [REDACTED] on 9/27/66  
that during the course of a background investigation of  
[REDACTED] U.S. Army, it was determined  
through interview of [REDACTED] character reference [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] that [REDACTED]  
himself was [REDACTED] John Birch Society,  
600 Waukegan Road, Glenview, Illinois.

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b7c

2 - Chicago (Encls. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
② - Milwaukee (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Baltimore  
JTB:mao  
(5)

100-13570-96

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 17 1966	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

BA 100-22382

On a Statement of Personal History (SPH - DD Form 398), executed and signed by [redacted] on 5/26/66, he listed a [redacted] as a character reference.

INTC files contain no further information concerning [redacted]. He furnished favorable comments re [redacted] when interviewed on 7/12/66.

Enclosed for information of Chicago and Milwaukee is one copy of the SPH executed by [redacted].

Above furnished for information of offices concerned.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Bircher Objects to Discussion on Vietnam

MENOMONEE FALLS — Alternatives to the present course of the war in Vietnam were discussed at a forum at St. Paul's United Church of Christ, N89-W16856 Appleton av., yesterday afternoon.

At one point in the meeting a John Birch society member, Norman E. Wyman, 1565 rolling meadow dr., Brookfield, charged that the meeting was designed for "propaganda" against the war.

The Rev. Eugene A. Schneider and the Rev. James S. Duren, pastors at the church, said the meeting provoked a wide range of viewpoints, from complete approval of the administration's policies in Vietnam to very critical.

Mr. Duren said the meeting was "not to put forth a particular view, but to have a place where people could come together to discuss issues."

He said the social action committee of the church is interested in sponsoring more discussions on Vietnam and other topics.

The clergymen are members of a national group called clergymen and laymen concerned about Vietnam.

They recently joined some 3,000 other members of the group in a "Washington Mobilization" to express their concern over national policy.

Joining them on the trip was Mrs. Stuart Hildebrand, a member of St. Paul's church. They met with Sen. Gaylord Nelson and William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Rep. Glenn Davis of New Berlin, R-Ninth district.

A special committee of the

national group met with secy. of defense McNamara.

In a position paper, the group protested present policies.

Yesterday's session opened with a report on the Washington trip, followed by questions and answers and comments on the war.

Mr. Schneider said he "was pleased at the openness of the discussion, without arguments." At the end of two hours the meeting was formally ended but some stayed on to continue discussion for another hour.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city & state)

SECTION PAGE 2  
WAUKESHA FREEMAN  
WAUKESHA, WISC.

Date: 2/13/67  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: HENRY A. YOUNG  
Title: JOHN BIRCH  
Character: SOCIETY  
or  
Classification: 100.  
Submitting  
Office: MILWAUKEE

100-13570-

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
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b7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570)

DATE: 4/17/67

FROM :

SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY;  
SM - X

On 4/7/67, CS [REDACTED] advised an organization called Young Americans for Freedom received approval from the Student Government at University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee to distribute leaflets on the campus on 4/6-7/67. The leaflet read as follows:

"What Has the UN Accomplished?  
Nothing!

"Learn More About the US Farce  
Filmstrip

"The United Nations Peace Dove Unmasked

<u>Wed</u>	<u>Thurs</u>	<u>Fri</u>
4/5	4/6	4/7

"12:30 BOLTON  
3:30 BOLTON".

Page 2 continued as follows:

"Tired of having only one view on the United Nations - then come to hear G. Edward Griffin spokesman for the John Birch Society and author of

"The Fearful Master  
"Sat. 4/8 12:30 P.M. BOLTON"  
Sponsored by UWM - YAF.

Milwaukee Indices under 62-0-11180 contains a news article of Milwaukee Journal, 2/23/67, entitled, "UN Sanctions Protested at UWM", stated, "a conservative student organization at UWM began handing out Bulletin Wed. asked the US to withhold support of United Nations Sanctions against the All-White Government of Rhodesia".

① - 100-13570

1 - [REDACTED]

JRN:mks (2)



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-13570-93

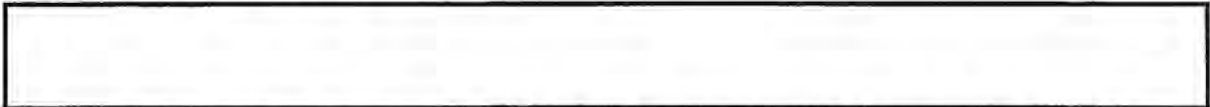
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[REDACTED]	

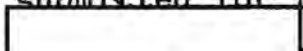
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MI 100-13570

"Campus Chapter of Young Americans for Freedom distributed the information from a booth set up in the lobby of the UWM Union.



The above ~~submitted for~~ information and indexing of organization and 

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Priests Eject Reporter and Meet Bircher

After asking a Milwaukee Journal reporter to leave, 10 priests and several ministers held a closed meeting Tuesday with a Catholic priest who is a top member of the John Birch society.

The meeting was held in a basement hall of Christ King Catholic school, 2646 Swan blvd., Wauwatosa.

Father Francis E. Fenton, pastor of a Bridgeport (Conn.) church and a member of the Birch society's 24 man national council, asked the reporter to leave. He said the meeting was private.

The reporter declined to leave until someone representing the local priests made the request. Father Fenton asked Auxiliary Bishop Roman E. Atkielski, pastor of Christ King, to do so.

Bishop Atkielski said he had not invited the priests. He said he had only agreed to let them use the school hall.

He asked Father Hugh W. Wish, pastor of St. Lawrence Catholic church, 1434 S. Layton blvd., how arrangements had been made.

Father Wish, who said he was a Birch member, said invitations had been sent to all priests in the area by local society chapter members. He declined to give the names of persons issuing the invitations.

In Father Wish's church bulletin last Sunday, parishioners were invited to hear Father Fenton Tuesday night at Marquette University high school.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B-8  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 10/11/67

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor: RICHARD H. LEONARD

Title: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character:

or

Classification: 100-

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-94

MI ONLY

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**US Prolonging War, Birch Aide Says**

Journal Staff Correspondence

**Waukesha, Wis.** - The United States could win the Vietnam war in 90 days without using nuclear weapons if Washington wanted to, Reed A. Benson, director of the Washington office of the John Birch society, charged here Wednesday night. Benson said the war served the purposes of the 1% or one-half of 1% of Communists in the government. Benson is the son of Ezra Taft Benson, agriculture secretary under President Dwight Eisenhower. Benson said the war could be won quickly by mining the harbor at Haiphong and stopping trade with Communist nations.

**Reed A. Benson**

Reed A. Benson  
 could be won quickly by mining the harbor at Haiphong and stopping trade with Communist nations.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

**A-3**  
**MILWAUKEE JOURNAL**  
**MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN**

Date: **1/18/68**Edition: **LATEST**

Author:

Editor: **RICHARD H. LEONA**Title: **JOHN BIRCH SOCIE**

*Milwaukee*  
 100-13570

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: **MILWAUKEE**☐ Being Investigated

*100-13570-95*  
 INDEXED.....  
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**JAN 23 1968**  
 FBI - MILWAUKEE  
*[Signature]*

MI ONLY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-0)

DATE: 3/1/68

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: "ANARCHY U.S.A."  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On 2/27/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he is employed on the [REDACTED] by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Telephone Number [REDACTED] Extension [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised the writer he attended a movie at the Serb Hall on 2/26/68, which was entitled, "Anarchy USA." He requested information concerning the validity of the documentation of this film and to what degree of truth, if any, it contains. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was advised the Bureau has no comments to make concerning the film, "Anarchy USA," but is familiar with its contents. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he obtained tickets to this film from two young men who were passing them out on a street corner in front of a church close to his home. He stated he was quite surprised to find that the hall was filled almost to capacity and further, that so many people seemed to be swayed by the film's message. He said he, himself, could not actually believe there was much truth in the film since it appears to be too extreme in its message. [REDACTED] stated the film was put out by the American Opinion Library, 7410 West State Street, West Allis, Wisconsin. He advised he would be willing to talk at any time with a representative of the FBI concerning this matter.

1 - MI 100-0

JCO/kdb

(1)

100-13170-916

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MAR 1 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (62-New)

DATE: March 22, 1968

FROM : SA

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MISCELLANEOUS

On 3/21/68  Special Assignment Squad, Milwaukee PD exhibited a floater announcement that ROBERT WELCH, Founder of the John Birch Society would speak on 5/11/68 at 6 PM, Schroeder Hotel, Milwaukee on the subject of Senator JOSEPH MC CARTHY.

The affair is selling for \$7.50 per ticket and for reservations write to

Above for information and it is suggested dead file be opened on John Birch Society.

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②-Milwaukee  
JRN/els  
(2)

100-13570-  
(62-13570-)

100-13570-97

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED 7	FILED 7
MAR 22 1968	
MILWAUKEE	



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Birch Founder To Eulogize Joe McCarthy

The late Wisconsin Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy will be eulogized by Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch society, at a fund raising dinner in Milwaukee May 11.

Peter Wheeler Reiss, Sheboygan, president of a recently formed foundation bearing the controversial senator's name, said Friday that the dinner would "give the many admirers of Sen. Joseph McCarthy an opportunity to pay tribute to his efforts to expose the Communist menace."

Reiss said admirers of McCarthy would be able to express their shock at this recent outrage perpetrated by an alleged 'human being' and alleged students from an alleged university."

The latter remark referred to an incident at Lawrence university in Appleton where beatnik poet Allen Ginsberg led a student demonstration and danced on the senator's grave last month.

Welch, who heads what is described as "the largest anti-Communist organization" in the world, will speak on the "life and times" of Sen. McCarthy, Reiss said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-22

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 4/6/68

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor: HARRY SONNEBORN

Title: ROBERT WELCH,  
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

100-13170-98

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SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 8 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

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MI ONLY

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Ad Says Civil Strife " May Stir Subversion

In a full page advertisement Sunday in The Milwaukee Journal, strict law enforcement was urged by the local TACT committee, a John Birch society oriented group.

Fifty-one persons, many of them prominent Birch members, endorsed a petition to elected officials which stated that they were "deeply concerned that the civil turmoil, which threatens the welfare and safety of all citizens, also invites anarchy and subversion."

TACT stands for Truth About Civil Turmoil. The TACT groups were begun in 1965 by Robert Welch, Birch founder, who has said:

"Our task must be simply to make clear that the movement known as 'civil rights' is Communist plotted, Communist controlled, and in fact . . . serves only Communist purposes."

The petition also urges "thorough investigation of reports that taxpayers' funds are financing such turmoil through agencies as the office of economic opportunity . . . and an immediate halt to such tax support if evidence is found."

Among the endorsers are assemblymen George H. Klicka and Kenneth J. Merkel, both Birch members; John T. Brown, vice-president of the Falk Corp. and a member of the Birch national council; William J. Grede, Milwaukee industrialist and Birch National council chairman; his daughters, Mrs. Burleigh (Janet) Jacobs, jr., and Mrs. Wal-

ter S. (Betty) Davis, both active in the Birch society; Dr. and Mrs. Parks LeTellier, supporters of Birch groups; William M. Huegel, TACT chairman, and Mrs. John R. (Juanita) Heinrich, member of the TACT advisory committee.

More endorsers are Mrs. Christopher R. (Evelyn) Dix, member of the TACT advisory committee; Mrs. Walter (Maxine) Graham, a director of the American Opinion library, a Birch bookstore; Norman E. Wynn, operator of a hearing aid store and supporter of the Birch film "Anarchy, U.S.A." and Harold F. Falk, president of Falk Corp., which supports right wing causes.

Others include Merritt D. Hill, former board chairman of J. I. Case Co., Racine, who has not been publicly connected with Birch activities; Clifford Robedeaux, past president of the Milwaukee Board of Realtors, also not publicly a Birch member; Fred F. Looch, past president of Allen-Bradley Co. and supporter of right wing causes; the Rev. Norman S. Ream, pastor of the First Congregational church of Wauwatosa and critic of the National Council of Churches, and the Rev. William Niebling, former pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran church of Wauwatosa.

Also included are Robert W. Baird, jr., vice-president of the Marine Corp., and Carl T. Swenson, board chairman of Milsco Mfg. Co., neither of whom are publicly Birch members.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

**B-2**  
**MILWAUKEE JOURNAL**  
**MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN**

Date: 4/28/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor: RICHARD H. LEONAR

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: 100-13570 -9

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 29 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

MI ONLY

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b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-15553)

DATE: 5/7/68

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY POWER (CCP)  
IS - CCP

On 5/3/68 [REDACTED] Special Assignment Squad, Milwaukee Police Department, (protect identity) furnished the following information, which was made available to the Police Department through their undercover police officer in the captioned organization:

For the information of the file, [REDACTED] described the Committee For Community Power (CCP) as an Ad Hoc Communist Action Organization currently in existence for the duration of the election campaigns coming up through November, 1968. He furnished the following information, which is being disseminated to the appropriate case files:

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- 1 - MI 100-15553
- 1 - MI 100-42 (CP-MI)
- 1 - MI 100-15318 (NCNP)
- 1 - MI 100-14947 (MOC)
- 1 - MI 100-15534 (CLERGY-LAYMEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE WAR IN VIETNAM)
- 1 - MI 100-13570 (BIRCH SOCIETY)

Copies continued on next page

JRN/kdb  
(34)

100-13570-100

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FBI - MILWAUKEE	



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1 - MI 100-15549 (TEN DAYS OF PROTEST)  
1 - MI 100-MADISON VIETNAM REFERENDUM COMMITTEE)

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b7D

MI 100-15553

[REDACTED]

4/26/68 - 4:30 p.m. to 5:45 p.m. Source advised that in connection with the Ten Days of Protest, he was at the Federal Building, Milwaukee, at 4:30 p.m. where a demonstration was taking place in protest of the war in Vietnam and organized by the Ad Hoc Student Mobilization Committee. Source stated that 125 persons participated, including [REDACTED]

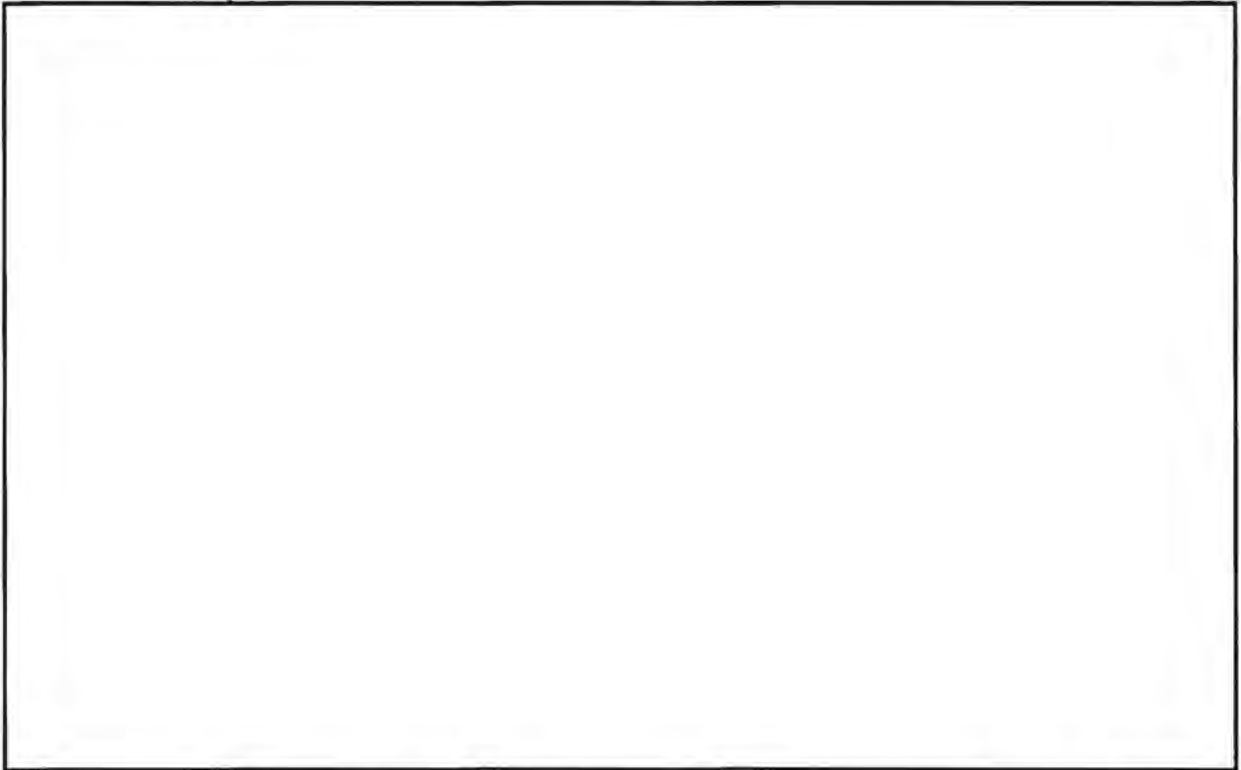
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] The source stated that the group picketed for thirty minutes in front of the Federal Building and then walked to City Hall for a final rally and speeches. [REDACTED]

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b7

[REDACTED]

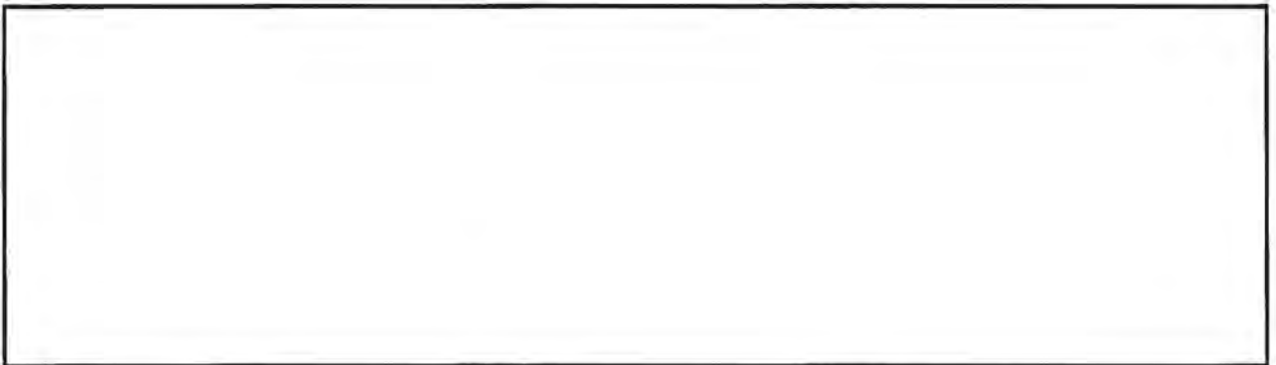
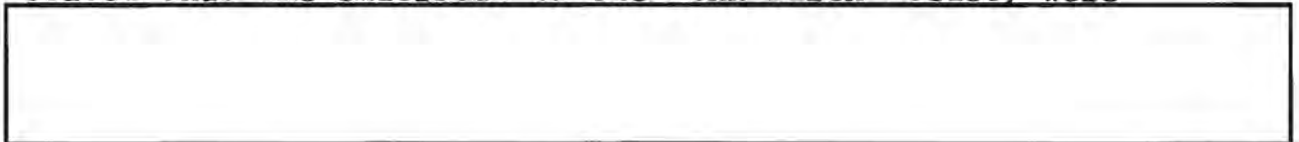
[REDACTED] the CCP and the Madison Vietnam Referendum Committee, including CPW, Milwaukee Organizing Committee (MOC), and Clergy-Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. [REDACTED]

MI 100-15553



b6  
b7  
b7

The John Birch Society was discussed, and it was stated that the endorsers of the John Birch Society were



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570) (C)

DATE: 5/14/68

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY  
MISCELLANEOUS

Re memo of SA [REDACTED] 3/22/68.

Case was opened on information furnished by [REDACTED] Special Assignment Squad, Milwaukee Police Department, that ROBERT WELCH, founder of the John Birch Society, will speak 5/11/68 at the Sheraton-Schroeder Hotel.

On 4/6/68, Page 22 of the "Milwaukee Sentinel," daily morning newspaper, carried an article entitled, "Birch Founder to Eulogize Joe Mc Carthy." The article indicated that ROBERT WELCH, founder of the John Birch Society, would speak at a fundraising dinner on 5/11/68 for the late Wisconsin Senator JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY, who will be eulogized at this dinner. A copy of this article is being serialized in instant file.

On 5/12/68, an article appeared in the daily Milwaukee newspaper, "The Milwaukee Journal," entitled, "Red Theory Elaborated by Bircher." The article reflected that ROBERT WELCH, a former candy man who founded the John Birch Society, explained the theory of "the insiders" to a Milwaukee audience Saturday night. He spoke at a fundraising dinner at the Sheraton-Schroeder Hotel. The article said that under WELCH's theory, the insiders are members of a self-perpetuating inner circle of top conspirators which has been running what he calls the international conspiracy for two centuries. The article continued that the Communist conspiracy is the most important function of the insiders, he told 700 persons at the dinner. The above article is also being serialized in instant file.

① - MI 100-13570

JRN/kdb

(1)

KJL

Original sent to POLA  
4/25/68

Close

100-13570-101

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 14 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



MI 100-13570

On 5/13/68, [redacted] advised that a fundraising dinner took place on 5/11/68 at the Sheraton-Schroeder Hotel beginning at 6 p.m. and attended by 750 people for the Senator Joseph R. Mc Carthy Foundation, Inc. Invocation was read by [redacted] Pastor of [redacted] and the Pledge of Allegiance was read by [redacted] Introduction of speakers was by [redacted]

[redacted] of the Executive Committee of the Council of the John Birch Society. The introduction of the main speakers was made by [redacted] of the Senator Joseph R. Mc Carthy Foundation, Inc. The main address was given by ROBERT WELCH, founder of the John Birch Society, and [redacted] Pastor of [redacted]

[redacted] further advised that the program reflected that the officers and directors of the Senator Joseph R. Mc Carthy Foundation, Inc. consist of:



The purpose of opening this case was to follow the activities of the John Birch Society and its members, and it is now requested that this case be closed.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Red Theory Elaborated by Bircher

Robert Welch, the former candy man who founded the John Birch society, explained his theory of "the insiders" to a Milwaukee audience Saturday night.

He spoke at a fund raising dinner at the Sheraton-Schroeder hotel.

Under Welch's theory, the insiders are members of a self-perpetuating inner circle of top conspirators which has been running what he calls the international conspiracy for two centuries.

The Communist conspiracy is the most important function of the insiders, he told 700 persons at the dinner.

World War I was set off by the insiders, he said. Their plan was and is to destroy all religion and government," he said, "so they could create their own new order."

World War I marked the end of isolationism for America, the beginning of prepara-



Robert Welch

tion for World War II and the beginning of erosion of all the qualities that had made the United States great, Welch said. During the four years preceding World War II, he said, it took all the cunning and outright treason of the insiders to achieve the entry of the United States into World War II.

The \$7.50 a plate dinner was planned as a fund raising event for the newly formed Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy foundation. Atty. Peter Wheeler Reiss of Sheboygan, the foundation president and a Birch leader, said, however, that the \$7.50 would only cover the cost of the dinner and asked for donations. The foundation was established to perpetuate the name of the late senator.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-8

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/12/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor: RICHARD H. LEONAI

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: 100-13570-10

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 14 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

MI ONLY

100-13570-103

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>7</i>	FILED <i>7</i>
MAY 17 1968	
	EE <i>[Signature]</i>

b6  
b7



Dear Mr. Thompson,  
I am 43 yrs. old, My husband 46 - and we have  
5 children - the oldest kept yet age 12. I married  
with some help, and you are the only one who  
can give me the information I need.

I am a member of the John Birch Society -  
and have really read - and studied it by and  
American people & the Communist movement in  
this world. People are already, according (a few)  
but the Communists are advancing so quickly  
with the help of the Soviets - that I am beginning  
to wonder if we can stop them.

There is my problem - until now - I planned  
to fight with America or - go down fighting -  
but I have just inherited \$1,500 (which I have)  
received (right) - we are in need of it - which is -  
right - I wonder if it would be the better for me & her  
this money & move our family to Australia.  
If you think we can stop them the  
man - I'll stay and fight like a Tiger - but  
the more I see of my niece & nephew - the more I  
wonder - but from college - the more worried &  
am about my responsibility to my children.  
I don't know how far to take that question  
around the letter - maybe I'm all out on that  
I hope I have already written the question



2

Government for permission to emigrate - and  
have received approval.

I know you're not a prophet - but you  
know far more than what our chances are  
for victory here in the U.S.

Last Sunday in church

[redacted] who is here for bank  
of sermons - (brainwashing) said the Negro has a  
right to commit violence to attain his ends.  
We are trying to bring our children up in  
the American way of God fearing - law-abiding  
citizens - but more & more feel like we are  
living in a large insane asylum - with the  
inmates in charge. We have to undo the damage  
done by well meaning but woefully minded  
liberal religious. How do you teach children to  
respect the office - even if you do not respect  
the man - How do you keep them from losing  
their faith? God help us!!

Do you feel we have a chance if we stay  
pray & fight - or should we try for a new life  
in Australia?

I don't want to put you on the spot -  
and I don't want to desert my country - I  
love it too much - but I also love my little  
children - I don't know what to do -

Please answer me - I shall keep what  
you have to say - Confidential -

Thank God we have men like you - I only  
wish you had the power to really do  
something about the scene in our midst.

God Bless you and your dedicated  
men -

Yours to God and Country



b6  
b7

May 15, 1968

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter of May 9th and am grateful for your kind sentiments.

I can certainly appreciate the concern which prompted you to contact me, for too many of our citizens are taking freedom for granted. However, while I cannot furnish the advice you seek, there is absolutely no doubt in my mind as to the outcome of this country's struggle against communism. That insidious, godless menace can never prevail in a free society. Do not forget that religion has made us what we are and has given us what we have. Every good thing we enjoy as free Americans comes directly or indirectly out of our belief in God. An atheistic philosophy can never successfully subvert a God-fearing Nation.

I am enclosing some material on this subject which I trust you will find helpful.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (3)

- ① - Milwaukee - Enclosure
- 1 - Minneapolis - Enclosure

100-13570-104

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 17 1968	
MILWAUKEE	

WFO

b6  
b7

Greetings -

Sorry I didn't send this sooner - but I did send a copy of it to the director the day after I spoke to you on the phone. I thought you might be interested in it!

b6  
b7C

I'd still like to talk to you for about 5 min. I may call you - but not on my phone.

Keep up the good work.

100-135101-101

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 27 1971	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	



[redacted] John Birch Society

June 19, 1971

Dear [redacted]

Enclosed is a form letter from an organization which calls itself  
FRIENDS OF THE F.B.I. Signed by [redacted]

On the face of it and all its copy it sounds as if a concerned American would contribute to generously. But I have a concern and maybe the Society can help provide information to better guide me, and others who may consider contributing to this sounding like worthy cause of informed Americans.

I have a friend here in Marshfield by name of Fern Riechert who is in her eighties, not very able to get around, lives in the Hotel where she has immediate help around her however resigns herself to her room and privacy as she wants it. Set time of 1:00 P.M. to about 3:00 p.m. that her phone is open for friends to contact her after that she shuts the phone off until next day. Her mind is very sharp and she can certainly give you a earfull of information on people around the U.S. promoting communism who is promoting it and who is fighting it.

She was engaged in show biz, and according to news paper clippings she maintains, a very popular person in vaudeville throughout the nation, headquartering out of Milwaukee. In long visits I have had with her, she told me that she knew [redacted] very well. He was a dedicated communist, outspoken and did not in any manner conceal it, but on the contrary was a member of the communist party, and proud to have it known. That [redacted] also whom she said she knew [redacted] also was and is a dedicated communist. This is about three years ago that she told me this. [redacted]

Certainly we need an dedicated organization to come to the aid of J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I. and even if the leader is a communist, maybe the effect of the organization rallying support for J. Edgar will be to our gain.

Being in possession of the information Fern Riechert has imparted to me I would be tempted, after reading [redacted] letter and the work he is doing favoring J. Edgar, to beleive that like several other dedicated communists, he has come to our side. That he has changed his mind.

On the other hand I notice the complete lack of any mention of conspiracy. Only emphasis on " Law-and-order". I do not suppose there is any place on earth where they have more law and order than Russia.

Can you help guide me and the many others who may be considering to make contributions to this, sounding like, worth while effort?

Sincerely [redacted]

cc [redacted]

P.S. I have Fern Riechert on my mailing list when I mail out J.B.S Material. Not that she needs it because she is a strong anti-communist, but mostly to keep her informed on what the J.B.S is doing.

The last item I sent to her was the Canada article on Trudeau, and she sent me a post card with the comments on the back of it. Evidently she feels as she says, that we have passed the point of no return, same as [redacted] If her health would permit she would be a strong helper in our cause, but she has apparently given up.

You will notice she refers to a "our own [redacted] etc. She is referring to [redacted] who Joe McCarthy frequently attacked and justly so. About that time [redacted] From the statements Joe made at that time I can remember my opinions at that time being that I was satisfied [redacted] was a communist. I also recall Ferns mention of [redacted] in my conversations which reconfirmed my opinion of [redacted] I have not heard of [redacted] for some time. Maybe he has passed on.

Since receiving the first of these letters from "the friends of F.B.I." I have had a chance to visit with Fern again and asked her pointedly what she thought about [redacted] in view of this activity of his favoring the F.B.I. Her Answer is many communists are also opportunists. When something comes along that appears as an opportunity to make themselves popular with a long rage gain, they will swing with the act. This act will better position [redacted] to help replace J. Edgar, when the time does come, with a man that the establishment agrees. With his popularity on [redacted] good Americans would accept his endorsement of a proposed nomination for the position. She is satisfied he is in no manner a convert, that he is still the same communist as she knew him to be. She says it is terrible how unknowing people will now contribute to [redacted] program without making an investigation of what will become of the funds.

Maybe Review of the news could make an investigation and tell its readers something in way of guidance.

Central Wisconsin's Finest Fireproof Hotel  
Dining Room HOTEL CHARLES Cocktail Lounge  
MARSHFIELD (Wisc. Highway 13) WISCONSIN

Dear [redacted] : June 1971  
Thanks  
for 'A.B. Periodical'  
As I see it : THEY (?)  
are just 'beginning' to  
harvest the bad-seed of  
the 'INVADERS' - #1 our  
own USA [redacted] etc.,  
However, not into the  
'P.I.I.I.T.', as deeply  
as we are, we have passed  
THE POINT OF NO RETURN  
" CAN'T EAT & KEEP CAKE  
( shortage of 'bakers' )

Sincerely,

Ferne M. Relchert  
103 West 2nd Street  
Marshfield, Wisconsin 54449

POST CARD



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Do Birch Society Dropouts Point to Decline?

By JOHN CUMMINGS  
Newsday Specials

A TOP defector from the ultra right wing John Birch society recently likened it to an eccentric inventor's "marvelous machine."

"When you turned it on," he said, "gears would grind, pistons pump and lights flash. People would admire it and then ask what it did. And the inventor would say, 'Nothing, absolutely nothing.' That's the John Birch society today, spinning around doing nothing."

With that assessment, former Birch council member Slobodan Draskovich pointed up, not only the unfulfilled goals of the organization but a frustrated feeling on the part of many who have thrown down the Birch banner.

In the 10 years since the society started, a decade that saw the political fringes of both the left and right come to full bloom, the group founded and headed by Robert Welch has assigned itself tasks ranging from the impeachment of Earl Warren to clearing American supermarket shelves of Polish hams. Warren is still chief justice and hams from Poland are still a big seller.

Draskovich, a former Yugoslav university professor once described by Welch as one of the "best informed anti-Communists in the world," quit 20 months ago because the past

showed him that there was no future in the John Birch society. A number of the other "Welch fusiliers" followed



Welch      Rousselot

him out in what appeared to be a major internal shakeup.

Among the other dropouts have been Revilo P. Oliver, one of the 11 men summoned to Indianapolis by Welch 10 years ago to help found the society; Thomas J. Davis, its east coast public relations director, and, most surprising, former Rep. John Rousselot (R-Calif.), who had held a \$30,000 a year post as national public relations director. Rousselot left his post, but didn't quit the society.

At one time Rousselot had been considered Welch's heir apparent and had been in charge of "Birch west" in San Marino, Calif., running the society's west coast activities. Rousselot has since been supplanted by Reed Benson, son of Ezra Taft Benson, who was agriculture secretary

under President Eisenhower.

In addition, a number of lesser but important figures have quit, leaving a gap in the society's administration, and one professional "Birch watcher" believes more resignations will follow.

As the society closes out its first decade as the self-proclaimed savior of western democracy, it appears to be losing not only top administrators, but members and money as well.

## Calls Defection Significant

Gordon Hall of Boston, an expert on extremist organizations and the man who first focused national attention on the society in 1961, sees Rousselot's defection as the most significant.

"Rousselot often succeeded in creating a favorable image for the society," Hall says. "He was especially effective in fielding hostile questions from only partially informed newsmen, seizing on the slightest factual errors and turning them to his advantage. It would not be stretching the truth to suggest that Rousselot actually became Welch's official interpreter, attempting to make more palatable to the general public Welch's grotesque, conspiratorial view of history."

Perhaps Welch's most famous declaration was his charge in a published letter that Eisenhower was a "dedi-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

C-12

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/15/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor: RICHARD H. LEON

Title:

Character:

or

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Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

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100-13570-18

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MAY 15 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

NT ONLY



cated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." In the last 18 months, Welch has added a new element to his gospel on the red conspiracy that he has been saying for 10 years is about to take control of the United States.

In his monthly bulletins since late 1966, Welch has put forward the theory that the "Communist conspiracy" is really a "front for an even more threatening inner circle that is really running the show." He says this inner circle, which controls both Washington and Moscow,



Oliver Benson

came into being in 1776 with the formation of a Bavarian Masonic sect called the Illuminati.

Of this theory, Draskovich says: "It is ludicrous. Once you go off on a tack like this, you are lost."

#### Other Dropouts Hurt

Just how badly the defections have hurt the society is difficult to measure. In addition to Oliver, Rousselot and Draskovich, who also was an associate editor of Welch's American Opinion magazine, the society has lost a number of other key people.

These include the society's controller, Thomas J. Davis of Millis, Mass. (no relation to the former public relations official); Michael McGagin, administrative vice-president of Robert Welch, Inc., an affiliate that handles the society's considerable publishing efforts; and Samuel Blumenfeld, analysis editor of the Review of the News, another society publication.

All quit in July, 1967. The most recent dropout was Maurice Lauzier of Fall River, Mass. Lauzier was once the

society's organizer for southern Massachusetts and founded the Birch chapter in Fall River. Another in the ranks of the dropouts is Gregory Pittner, former co-ordinator for Long Island.

Although the defectors have not visibly altered their basic political philosophies — all remain staunch anti-Communist conservatives — their statements have provided some insight into the society's problems.

Davis said at the time he left that contributions, which make up 70% of the society's income, had dropped 45% in the first half of 1967. The other 30% of the society's operating budget, which totaled \$2 million in 1967, came from dues. These range from \$12 for a year to \$1,000 for a life membership.

#### Money From Appeals

Davis said many large contributions, running up to \$10,000, came from a group of angels, some of whom were not actually members. He said these contributions resulted from appeals by Welch in the monthly bulletin and in letters.

"People would send in checks, anywhere from \$10,000 to \$1 and \$5," Davis said. "They would say, 'I was going to buy some land or a color TV, but you need it more.'"

Asked if this ever bothered him, Davis said: "Yes it did. I felt some money went in the wrong direction — printing books that did not sell."

Davis said this might be one of the reasons that the society was suffering a decline in membership at the time he left. His estimate was that the organization had a membership of around 30,000 nationally, well below Welch's estimates of between 65,000 and 80,000, with the bulk of the members concentrated in southern California, Texas and the southern gulf states.

#### Publishing Causes Fuss

Society membership has always been a numbers game, with no accurate figure given. Welch's original goal was a million members, a figure he

has since scaled down to 400,000. The society's apparent high water mark was said to be about 95,000 during the 1964 presidential campaign.

But if the book publishing venture was ill conceived in

Davis' view, it was anything but that to Welch. He has claimed that a sizable portion of the \$20 million taken in by the society since it was founded came from publishing. This includes sales of publications both through the mail and through the 400 American Opinion bookstores.

It was the publishing setup, plus what he considered Welch's lack of understanding about the Communist movement, that led to Draskovich's resignation.

"Welch has turned what was supposed to be a militant anti-Communist movement into a book selling operation," Draskovich says. "His notion is that the Birch society is going to save America by getting people to read books. So they all read books, what then? Welch talks on and on about the difference between a democracy and a republic and labels people like French President Charles de Gaulle and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie as Communists."

Draskovich also believes that Welch's lack of understanding has resulted in the loss of solid conservative members who have been replaced in the ranks "by malcontents who just want to be consoled."

#### Organization Called Good

Draskovich does credit Welch with great organizational ability. Welch, once a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and a successful candy manufacturer, before founding the society, has a well defined chain of command with Welch at the top.

Below him is the 26-member council, which supposedly advises him. Below this is the director of field activities, who supervises the 110 man field staff that tries to organize chapters. In all, the society has 270 paid employees, but

council members and individual chapter leaders in local areas receive no salary.

[Wisconsin's membership of three in the Birch national council is disproportionately large. William J. Grede, who lives in Elm Grove and is chairman of the board of Grede Foundries, Inc., with headquarters in Milwaukee, is chairman of the executive committee of the council.]

[John T. Brown of Racine, a vice-president of The Falk Corp. in Milwaukee, and Stillwell J. Connor, president of Modern Sleep Products Co., Marshfield, are members of the council.]

[Grede said that, on the basis of activity, he believed that the Birch society was growing. The number of members or chapters in Wisconsin is kept secret. There is an American Opinion bookstore at 7410 W. State st., Wauwatosa.]

#### Didn't Get Started

Draskovich says that despite good organization, the society never really got off the ground. "It was," he says, "like the man who built a 50 foot cabin cruiser in his cellar and then couldn't get it out the door."

Oliver, one of the men with Welch when he formed the society 10 years ago, says the council never had any voice in policy — a view also expressed by Draskovich.

"We met four times a year in Belmont, Mass.," Oliver said, "but when we got together there were always strangers in the room. We never knew who they were. You can't discuss things in front of people you don't know. This went on all morning. In the afternoon, we met alone for about an hour before cocktails. It was stimulating."

Oliver, a professor of classics at the University of Illinois, is best remembered for his attack on President Kennedy while the nation was still mourning his death. In the article, entitled "Marxism in Dallas," Oliver said the Communists killed Kennedy because he was defecting from



the Communists and "was turning American."

#### Resignation Demanded

Welch said he demanded Oliver's resignation after Oliver, speaking at a Boston conference in 1966, made remarks that were widely viewed as anti-Semitic. In a discussion of various theories of conspiracy, Oliver had said: "If we pick the Jews as a conspiratorial nucleus, we can do better chronologically." He received a noisy ovation when he finished, and among those who rose and applauded was Welch himself.

Later, after the reaction to Oliver's speech set in, Welch demanded the resignation. But Oliver, who denies he is anti-Semitic, says that afterward Welch came to his home in Urbana, Ill., and proposed that though he resign from the council, he continue to write for American Opinion and offered him \$5,000 to do so. Oliver, who had already sent a letter of resignation to Welch, said Welch produced a substitute letter.

"It said that I loved Robert Welch," Oliver says, "and it declared that I was so distressed to think that anything said by a member of the Birch society could be commented on unfavorably that I wanted to spare him embarrassment. That, of course, was hogwash."

Oliver says Welch returned to Belmont empty handed and on Sept. 10 the council approved the resignations of both Oliver and Draskovich.

#### Members in Dark

During this period, it would have been difficult for the average Birch member to know what was going on. Welch, in the monthly bulletins, spoke of "regional feuds" in the spring and summer of 1966, and of "fighting my way from one city to another, where acrimonious debates were raging among members."

After the resignations, Welch in October, 1966, gave his readers what he called a "concise clarification" of what had happened. In it he put an entirely different face on his previous assessments — a technique that Welch had always termed "Communist" in style. Thus "fighting my way from one city to another" became a "field trip" and "acrimonious debates" merely became incidents of a personal nature not related "to the policies or programs of the society."

Lauzier, the most recent

dropout, says the whole affair merely pointed up his disillusionment with the society.

"The disillusionment comes when you finally have to admit to yourself that Welch is the society and the society is Welch," Lauzier says. The same sentiment guided Bittner, when he quit as Long Island co-ordinator. "You disagree with Welch and you're out," Bittner says. "He accepts no dissent whatever."

Welch refused to be interviewed and instead referred questions to Benson, who has his headquarters in Washington. Benson said that despite setbacks last year, the society membership had grown and the temporary financial setback referred to by Davis had been overcome. But Benson gave no details.

A major current project, he said, is a nationwide petition to "protest the aid the present administration is giving to our Communist enemies" all over the world. The campaign has gathered more than 840,000 signatures so far, he added.

Lauzier, for one, plans to do his bit toward keeping the society's membership down. He says he has set one task for himself: To get everyone he has recruited into the society back out of it. Asked if he

thinks the organization might be dying out, Lauzier says: "No. I would not say it was dead. I would say it's merely irrelevant in today's world."

#### Hit by Attackers

A month after Lauzier's defection from the society was reported in a newsletter put out by Hall in Boston, Lauzier was attacked in the garage of his home in Fall River by two unknown assailants.

"I was in the garage and the lights went out," he recalls. "I heard a voice say, 'We'll get you, you Jew lovin' bastard,' and then something hit me on the head." He was found an hour later by his brother on the garage floor.

The attack came a week after Lauzier, a Catholic, spoke at a synagogue about the Birch society and why he left it. The FBI, it was learned, has since entered the investigation. Lauzier says he doesn't believe the attack had any direct bearing on his leaving the society, but he adds: "I can't say anything more now."

In any case, Lauzier, 28, has other problems at the moment. Unable to find a job, he has been working with his father, an undertaker.

"I wasted two important years of my life and I'm not prepared for anything as a result," he says. "You can't blame a prospective employer for failing to get excited about a guy who spent the last two years of his life working for the John Birch society."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## TV Refuses COPS Time

Channel 10 has turned down a request by the Committee on Police Support (COPS) to present without charge its views on police, the station manager said Tuesday.

COPS, a committee started by John Birch society members, asked that the station grant the same amount of time it had given what COPS called a "one sided" program on police community relations. The program was part of a series on the inner city.

Station manager Otto Schlaak told Mrs. William R. Kerner, co-chairman of the committee, that "in the interest of fairness we shall be very glad to make available time for the Milwaukee police department or their representatives to comment on this telecast and to make such appropriate representation as they may deem desirable."

Schlaak noted that representatives of the police department earlier had been invited to participate in the program, but had declined.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-18

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 5/21/68

Edition: LATEST

Author:

Editor: RICHARD H. LEONARD

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

☐ Being Investigated

NI ONLY

100 - 13170 - 10

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 22 1968	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

15



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Campaign '68

# Birch Membership an Issue in Assembly Race

By RALPH D. OLIVN  
of The Journal Staff

Taxes, highway safety and crime are issues for Republican candidates in the 20th assembly district as the Sept. 10 primary nears.

Another issue, however, is the political philosophy of the incumbent, Republican George H. Klicka.

Klicka is a member of the John Birch society. His political beliefs have been criticized by his opponents, particularly William O'Sullivan, who feels strongly that Klicka has not adequately represented the district.

## Democrat Unopposed

Seeking the Republican nomination in the primary are Klicka, 33, of 2415 N. 86th st., Wauwatosa, a printing ink salesman; O'Sullivan, 35, of 108 N. 88th st., Wauwatosa, president of a water conditioning equipment firm, and Harold C. Schultz, 66, of 2454 N. 96th st., Wauwatosa, a municipal justice and public relations man.

Unopposed in the Democratic primary is Robert M. Molthen, 31, of 556 N. 61st st., Wauwatosa, a Milwaukee county deputy sheriff.

The strongest criticism of Klicka's position comes from O'Sullivan.

"I think George is all right, but I don't care for his bedfellows," O'Sullivan said.

O'Sullivan called Birch society members "fellow travelers." He said he used the term to mean that the society was working to undermine the country's democratic foundations. A member of the society should not be in the legislature, he said.

Schultz was not as sharp in his criticism, but said he felt Klicka was too conservative on some issues. Schultz also said he did not think Klicka's legislative record in his first

term as assemblyman was impressive.

Klicka said he was proud of his membership in the Birch society. Critics of the society,



—By a Journal Artist

The 20th assembly district

he said, misunderstand its aims.

"I think many patriotic groups in this country, especially anti-Communist groups, are being smeared," Klicka said. "Yet the only program of these groups is to instill patriotism among our citizens, circulate petitions and write letters to our congressmen. They don't march, they don't picket, they don't steal state secrets, and they don't break our laws."

Klicka, who has served one term in the assembly, termed finances one of the state's major problems.

"We are going to have great difficulty in keeping down the bulging costs of state government," he said.

## Backs More Semesters

Klicka believes substantial savings could be made by putting the University of Wisconsin campuses and the state universities on a trimester or a quarter system. Doing this, he said, would insure full use of campuses in the summer, spread the students out and mean less money spent for building.

Klicka also feels that the number of out of state students is disproportionate.

Referring to the financial problems of cities — particularly Milwaukee — Klicka said: "I don't think this (state aid) is going to solve the problem. The problem lies in the fact that urban areas have too many unproductive citizens."

"Jobs are available. Why is the welfare caseload increasing?"

## Calls Courts Lenient

Klicka said he thought the courts had become too lenient and said he felt that there was too much immorality.

"Smut should not be available to those under 21, and I expect to introduce a bill to that effect," he said.

O'Sullivan, in his consideration of the financial problems of cities — particularly Milwaukee — said he was flexible and open to practical suggestions.

Milwaukee's Mayor Malar has used a shotgun approach.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

ACCENT-1  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 9/1/68

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Author: --

Editor: RICHARD H. LEONA

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or

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FBI — MILWAUKEE

MI ONLY

O'Sullivan said, and the result has been confusion. As a legislator, O'Sullivan said he would give serious consideration to a point by point program that outlined specifically what the state could do.

#### Returns for City

But while looking for suggestions from others, O'Sullivan also has a few of his own. He feels Milwaukee and Milwaukee county are providing many services for the rest of the state, without financial return.

"Why should Milwaukee feel it has to entertain the state?" he asked.

O'Sullivan would like to consider a move toward state operation of parks, the museum, and the zoo. He thinks that county operation is not wide enough, because of the large number of visitors who visit the city and the county.

#### Agree on Safety

O'Sullivan said he did not feel that, in general, judges were too lenient. The rights of the accused have to be considered, he said. But O'Sullivan said he would like to have a state law limiting the service of judges, as well as other officials, to three terms. A person who stays in office too long loses perspective, O'Sullivan said.

Like Klicka, O'Sullivan



Klicka O'Sullivan

agrees on the need for improved highway safety, but is critical of the present system — sending out inspection teams to stop cars. This is not thorough enough, O'Sullivan said.

#### Concern About Drugs

Schultz — because of connection with court work and law enforcement — has a strong interest in highway safety. Among the points he made was a need for a uniform age for beer drinking.

Schultz said that, as a municipal justice, "I've had fellows come before me — 20

years of age — on a drinking charge. Where did they pick up the beer? Some place in Ozaukee county."

Schultz also said he was concerned about drug use. He favors strong laws to keep anyone convicted as a drug user off the highway until it is reasonably certain that the person has overcome the habit.

Discussing finances, Schultz said he did not have any easy solutions. Basically, a city or state agency looking at a new program should determine if it is really needed, Schultz said, and if the money is available. He is not opposed to state aid, but believes cities should do



Schultz Molthen

what they can do for themselves. And a city should not go overboard in accepting federal aid, he said.

"Wauwatosa has a history of not going to the federal government with the cup," Schultz said. "I go along with that theory, as long as I possibly can. We have good, clean government in Wauwatosa because the projects are sound and the control is here in Wauwatosa."

#### Favors Bond Issues

But Schultz said there were times when a city should spend money, and he favors bond issues on needed projects.

"Delay can only mean higher costs later," he said.

Klicka has, so far, put on the most intensive campaign. He has concentrated on speaking to small groups, and has appeared at numerous coffee hours. Mrs. Klicka, who is working with her husband, said a campaign committee was raising funds. She expects

total expenses to exceed \$1,000.

O'Sullivan said he was financing his own campaign, and had stopped spending at \$300.

Schultz also is financing his own campaign, he said. He has not yet determined how much he expects to spend — he is considering some advertising and mailings near the end of the campaign.

Molthen, as the only Democratic candidate, said he would not begin his campaign until after the primary.

The 20th district is made up of six wards of Wauwatosa — all but the 7th and 8th. Income varies from somewhat below middle to high. The area is traditionally Republican — the winner of the Republican primary usually can count on being elected in November.



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Campaign '68

## Birch Issue Pressed in 3 Way Contest

By RALPH D. OLIVE  
of The Journal Staff

Entry of an independent candidate makes the 20th district assembly contest a three way race — and the John Birch society an issue.

George H. Klicka is the Republican candidate and Robert M. Molthen is his Democratic opponent. The third candidate, an independent, is William L. O'Sullivan.

O'Sullivan, 55, of 108 N. 88th st., Wauwatosa, is a member of the Republican party, and was a candidate for the Republican nomination for 20th district assemblyman in the primary. When Klicka won, O'Sullivan decided to run as an independent.

O'Sullivan, president of a water conditioning equipment firm, said he had decided to enter the campaign as an independent mainly because Klicka is a member of the John Birch society.

## Birchers Called a Danger

O'Sullivan said he believed that the conservative Birch society was a danger to the country.

A member of the Birch society should not be a member of the legislature, because, he



said, it was working to undermine the country's democratic processes.

Molthen, 31, of 556 N. 61st st., Wauwatosa, a deputy sheriff, said he felt that Klicka's membership in the Birch society had to be made a part of the campaign.

"My opponent is a John

Bircher, and I am mentioning it in the campaign," he said.

However, Molthen said he was more concerned about stressing programs he would work for if elected, so he has not made a major issue of Klicka's Birch society membership.

## Conservative Stand

Klicka, 33, of 2115 N. 86th st., Wauwatosa, is a printing ink salesman. He was first elected to the assembly in 1966. Klicka identifies himself as a conservative, and believes that his personal political philosophy ties in with much of the work the Birch society has done.

Klicka said he was puzzled by all the attention paid to his role in the Birch society. The issue, he said, has been stressed far out of proportion to its importance. Klicka said he could not understand why anyone would be upset about such an organization. He said the society was not trying to undermine the country — rather, it was working to improve the country.

Klicka said he did not understand how O'Sullivan, if he considered himself a Republican, could enter the race as an independent after losing in the primary.

O'Sullivan's explanation was: "I do not think of Klicka as a Republican; he is a Birch. I am only stopping a political virus that is getting a strong hold."

O'Sullivan said he was still a Republican, but felt he had to run as an independent in an attempt to defeat Klicka.

## Seeks Welfare Study

Economy in government is another major issue in the 20th district race.

There is a drastic need for economy, both in the cities and at the state level, Molthen said. "They're spending money ridiculously," he said.

He believes the welfare system needs to be examined. Molthen said he did not oppose welfare, but he thinks the administration could be improved, resulting in substantial savings. Molthen also advocated a reduction in the number of state employees.

"No one in government is overworked," he said. "They could afford to assume a little more responsibility."

Molthen said his interest in highway safety was one of the main reasons for entering the campaign.

"There is a great need for improvement in the motor vehicle laws," he said. "I work on the freeways, and I see a large need for massive education, as far as motoring habits go."

Molthen favors a strong implied consent law, and also would like to see stricter requirements for a driver's license.

"Now anyone can read a book, go down and take a road test, and obtain a license," Molthen said.

Molthen also said he favors a uniform beer drinking age of 21.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

ACCENT-4  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

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OCT 22 1968

FBI - MILWAUKEE

MI ONLY



William L.  
O'Sullivan

Robert M.  
Molthen

George H.  
Klicka

Stronger penalties for persons convicted of crimes involving deadly weapons.

"A three time loser" law — a person convicted of three felonies would automatically receive a life prison term.

Klicka said that in his campaigning he had found great concern about government spending. Many claim that the University of Wisconsin budget, in particular, is too high, Klicka said.

#### Wants Careful Study

A careful examination also should be made of welfare spending, Klicka said. There is too much of a tendency to let the state take over functions that could be done privately, he said.

"I believe in the concept of limited government, and a balance between the power of the state government and the power of the federal government," Klicka said.

Klicka also advocated:

Legislation to prevent mi-

nor from obtaining pornographic literature.

Stronger penalties for anyone convicted of using a gun in committing a felony.

Increased efforts to stop water and air pollution.

O'Sullivan said he believed in flexibility when considering financial problems. Milwaukee does have special problems, O'Sullivan said, and, as a legislator, he would keep an open mind to any responsible suggestions that would help find solutions.

He has some suggestions of his own. O'Sullivan feels the state should consider taking over some functions, such as parks, the museum and the zoo. The question goes beyond municipal or even county boundary lines, he said.

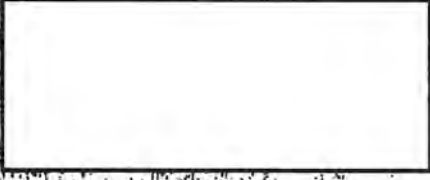
O'Sullivan said he also would like to see:

A state law limiting judges and other public officials to three terms.

A strong vehicle inspection law.

Separate police forces for criminal work and traffic patrol.

The 20th district, made up of six Wauwatosa wards — all but 7 and 8 — is a Republican area. Usually, the winner of the Republican primary can relax, knowing he will be swept into office in November.

  
February 4, 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Chief, F.B.I.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

We would like to trouble you for a brief, direct answer to a question. What, if anything, does your department and position find wrong with the general precepts and preachings of the John Birch Society?

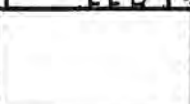
We have recently been very impressed with their forthright statement and presentation of factual material apparently devoid of trying to elicit a decision or response based purely upon emotional reactions. They seem to be truly and sincerely dedicated to the purpose of trying to inform the American people about the insidious and degrading multiple forces that the communist conspiracy is activating throughout our country and throughout the world to destroy us, the American people and the democratic way of government, in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of many of our own citizens.

Being aroused Americans and being extremely concerned about what is happening to our country, we would appreciate a prompt, and direct-as-possible reply to the feelings of your office in this regard.

Very sincerely yours  


100-10570-111

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MAUKEE	



February 11, 1969

Dear [REDACTED]

With respect to the inquiries in your letter of February 4th, I regret I am unable to furnish the data you are seeking, and it is contrary to my policy to furnish the type of evaluation you desire. The FBI has not investigated the John Birch Society.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

① - Milwaukee - Enclosure

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FEB 13 1969	

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b7c



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## The Birchers Again

The resignation of the vice-president of the Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women is still hazy with controversy. But Mrs. Thomas Herman's charge that she resigned because the organization was controlled by John Birch society members is disturbing, if not surprising. It is only a few years ago that the Birchers infiltrated and tried to take over the Milwaukee YWCA organization.

The council's president, Mrs. John Krueger, says that she herself is not a society member. She denies that the immediate past president, who was a Birchite, exerted an ultraright influence over council affairs.

Whatever the facts in this case, it is well to remember that for all its condemnation of Communist infiltration tactics, the Birch ultraright wing society is not above a few plots and ploys itself. Robert Welch, founder of the society, wrote about anti-Communist tactics in the Blue Book that is the Birchite bible:

"We would organize fronts — little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts. . . . The front business, like a lot of techniques the Communists use, can be made to cut both ways."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-14  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
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MI ONLY

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Right Wingers Fight Sex Education

The campaign against sex education in Milwaukee area schools is suffering at the moment for lack of a specific local target.

There is discussion in several school systems of comprehensive — kindergarten through 12th grade — programs of sex education which might be set up, but so far there seems to be no school system where such a program exists.

As a result, the campaign against sex education in the Milwaukee area and elsewhere in the state is being directed at programs in other states which, the opponents to sex education say, might be introduced here.

## Birch Society Active

A member of the John Birch society said in an interview that he did not know of a specific school using a program in sex education like those being criticized in other states.

In general, the sex education programs being criticized most severely by Birch society committees and other right wing groups are those which tell children about human reproduction in the primary grades and give older children too much detail on such matters as sexual intercourse and contraception.

Two of the organizations with right wing connections which are fighting sex education programs in schools here are Citizens for Parental Rights and Movement to Restore Decency committees (MOTOREDE) set up by the John Birch society.

Citizens for Parental Rights describes itself as a "confederation of groups of parents and citizens dedicated and determined to uphold the spiritual and constitutional authority of the individual over his own family in matters of faith, morals, health and social philosophy."

At a meeting May 1, the group decided to oppose sex education in the schools and resolved to lend its active support of those parents and organizations who are of similar commitment.

Its material is distributed along with material from the Christian Crusade, Tulsa, Okla., the ultraconservative organization headed by the Rev. Billy James Hargis.

The American Opinion library and bookstore, 7410 W. State st., Wauwatosa, is selling pamphlets and other printed material on the antisex education campaign. The library, according to a member of the Birch society, is a kind of semi-official headquarters for the society.

## House Bill Sponsored

The proposed legislation of Assemblyman Kenneth Merkel (R-Brookfield) and nine other colleagues, would ban mandatory sex education from public schools.

In Washington, Rep. Henry C. Schadeberg (R-Wis.) has authored a bill which would prohibit the use of federal funds for the teaching of sex education, training of teachers in the subject or research into methods of teaching sex education.

The 9th congressional district Republican organization last month adopted a resolution opposing sex education as designed by the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS).

The national campaign against sex education is directed

against SIECUS, which describes itself as a "nonprofit, voluntary health organization which acts as a consultant for starting or improving sex education programs, but has no programs of its own."

## Destroy Moral Fiber

The so-called SIECUS program, books and materials are the ones criticized most often by the opponents of sex education in schools.

The 9th district Republican, for example, said the "SIECUS program is capable of destroying the moral fiber of our children."

The South Suburban MOTOREDE committee in one of its meeting announcements asked how parents, merchants, clergy and teachers felt about SIECUS promoting "the opinions of subversives and atheists within many public schools."

A Birch society member said he could not give the exact number of society members involved in the campaign here except to say that there were "several hundred people in an organized and synchronized effort" in the Milwaukee area.

The campaign, he said, has three main ways of educating people:

**Distribution of material** opposing sex education through the American Opinion library and bookstore and directly to persons who indicate an interest in it.

**Providing film strips** to small groups of 25 persons or less for discussion.

**Presentation of films on sex education** to large public meetings.

The Birch society member's reasons for opposing sex education in schools are based on his belief that sex education is the responsibility of the family and that proper instruction can be given only by the parents.

"To lump a group of 25 to 30 children and publicly instruct them in these matters is entirely wrong, is an invasion of privacy, and fails to take into account the individuality of the child," he said.

He gave three reasons for opposing sex education in schools:

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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FBI - MILWAUKEE	

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"There is no statistical measurement, no thorough investigation to support the idea that kids are not getting enough sex education at home."

"Sex education courses offered have solved no problems and where used have done nothing more than create problems."

"The school is not the place to teach anything other than academic courses such as health sciences and biology courses."

Nationally, Robert Welch, president of the John Birch society, says sex education is part of a Communist plot to destroy the morals of youth and to keep them obsessed with sex.

The school health consultant in the Florida department of education says opponents of sex education in that state claim it is "part of a Communist plot to destroy the moral fiber of our youth."

The Citizens for Parental Rights group in Milwaukee has been distributing a leaflet which includes a statement of "Communist rules for revolution" discovered in Dusseldorf, Germany, in 1919.

One of the Communist rules cited in the leaflet says: "Corrupt the youth; get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial; destroy their ruggedness."

The material opposing sex education being distributed here also attempts to connect Communist party membership with some members of the board of directors of SIECUS.

**Next: What Wisconsin Schools Are Doing**

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# John Birch Official to Give Talk Here

Father Francis E. Fenton, a Catholic priest and member of the national council of the John Birch society, will speak at 8 p.m. June 19, at American Serb Memorial hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma av.

His appearance will be sponsored by the West Allis TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) committee, a group with Birch ties.

sored by the West Allis TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) committee, a group with Birch ties.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-3  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
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JUN - 5 1969	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

PT ONLY



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Scuffle Erupts at Bircher Talk

By ALICIA ARMSTRONG  
of The Journal Staff

A priest who is a member of the John Birch society was heckled and a brief scuffle broke out during the clergyman's talk Thursday night at the American Serb Memorial hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma av.

The disorder occurred after Father Francis E. Fenton, Bridgeport, Conn., criticized the late Rev. Martin Luther King, jr.

A small group of civil rights and antiwar militants, who had been heckling Fenton, clashed with several supporters of the Catholic priest at the front of the hall.

## Flareup Was Brief

The pushing and shoving lasted only about two or three minutes. A man who later identified himself as a detective but would not give a reporter his name helped to break it up. Fenton continued his talk without referring to the incident.

There were uniformed police in the hall, but no arrests were made.

About 325 persons attended the talk by Fenton, a member of the Birch society's national council. The program was sponsored by the West Allis TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) committee.

After the scuffle, Fenton strongly condemned Father James E. Groppi, the Milwaukee civil rights leader. A few minutes later, Groppi and four black youths walked into the hall.

The Groppi group and the hecklers conversed at the back of the hall — while Fenton continued his talk — and then Groppi, the youths and a Negro girl left.

"I came here to get one of the kids away," Groppi told a reporter outside the hall. He was referring to the girl, who said she was 15. Groppi said she had been placed in a foster home and that he did not want her to get into trouble.

"The priests and the others in there can take care of themselves," Groppi added.

One of the priests to whom Groppi referred was Father Nicholas J. Riddell, who frequently has taken part in antiwar demonstrations here. He was among eight Milwaukeeans arrested May 25 in connection with a raid on a Chicago selective service office during which draft records were burned.

## Came From New York

Riddell was accompanied by a priest who identified himself as Father Henry Mahaney, who said he was "working at St. Boniface" church in the inner city. Mahaney said he was a Capuchin priest and that he came here about two months ago from New York city.

The two priests, both of whom are white, several young Negro women and a white woman did the heckling.

Fenton said that while King's murder was "a crime and cannot be condoned, he was a man who worked with Communists."

"Lies, lies, lies, lies!" one of the Negro girls cried out.

"You killed him!" another young woman shouted.

A man near the front turned around and yelled: "Go on back to Walnut st."

"And they want help from people!" a woman exclaimed, referring to the Negroes.

After the scuffle, a woman who had been seated near the hecklers got up and moved.

"I don't sit with pigs, that's for sure," she said. "I'm getting out."

And one of the Negroes said to the man who had identified himself as a detective: "Are you going to protect us, big white father?"

Fenton said he would be remiss "if I did not make a few observations on the Rev. Groppi."

"That's our man!" a Negro woman cried.

Fenton said Groppi had "a police record that would put the ordinary gangster and hoodlum to shame."

"So did Jesus Christ!" one of the priests shouted.

"I think Groppi is a disgrace to the Catholic church," Fenton said.

That comment drew loud applause, cheers and whistles.

"He (Groppi) should be put and kept where he is likely to do the least harm — behind bars!" Fenton said.

"How your archbishop has allowed him to continue his despicable antics without penalty is incomprehensible to me and to millions of other Americans," Fenton added.

Fenton condemned riots and campus revolts and told his audience that they had been "subsidizing revolution at the University of Wisconsin — all in the name of academic freedom, no doubt."

"Freedom" two of the Negro girls shouted.

Fenton said that "godless Communism would not pose the threat it does to America and what's left of the free world if the truth about it were widely disseminated by our alleged leaders and through the communications media."

He claimed that the "disreputable, controlled American press" had aided the Communist conspiracy.

Fenton received a standing ovation from most of the audience — and boos from the hecklers — at the end of his talk.

Fenton will give another talk at 8 p.m. Monday at the Wauwatosa memorial civic center, 7701 W. North av. That program will be sponsored by the Menomonee Falls TACT committee.



Father Francis E. Fenton

MI ONLY

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

R-1

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100-13570-115

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Big Push Seen Here to Recruit Birch Members

This is the third in a series of articles on conservative and rightist groups in metropolitan Milwaukee. The final article will report the opinions of individuals and organizations opposed to right-wing activities.

By RICHARD G. FEYER

There is evidence that the John Birch society's big recruiting bandwagon is on its way to metropolitan Milwaukee.

The national head of the society, Robert Welch, has kicked off a major recruiting campaign in an apparent effort to capitalize on the widespread interest and controversy surrounding the Movement To Restore Decency (MOTOREDE).

Locally, Birch sources expect that many people interested in MOTOREDE, a Birch ad hoc committee to fight sex education in public schools, would be excellent membership prospects.

## Added Mailings Sought

The society's national monthly bulletin for July urges members, for a \$5 fee, to place "at least one patriotic citizen of good character" on the group's mailing list for one year. Evaluation of the success of this campaign is probably premature, but undoubtedly the society has made friends through MOTOREDE.

During a Waukesha anti-sex education meeting in June, sponsored by MOTOREDE, the Rev. Donald Lamberson, pastor of the Faith Bible church, 606 Arcadian av., Waukesha, shouted from his pulpit for new Birch members.

Lamberson, an active Bircher, permitted his church to be used for the meeting. He used the meeting to praise the society and urge the 300 persons attending to join.

(A announcement of the impending recruitment drive was published in the society bulletin earlier this year.)

The American Opinion Bookstore, 11617 W. Blue Mound rd., Wauwatosa, has been a Birch recruiting and information center for years. The store was formerly located at 7410 W. State st., Wauwatosa. It moved to the present building this spring.

## More Outlets Planned

The society has similar opinion outlets across the nation, and lists the opening of more stores among its permanent projects.

Mrs. Donald Amundson, of Elm Grove, volunteer bookstore manager, said the store's clientele are "not troublemakers," but are "citizens who come in to be enlightened." She said that, besides selling literature, the store answers people's inquiries, distributes various publications and visual aids and serves as a meeting place and message center for Birch society staff and volunteer activists.

"We are really jacks of all trades," she said, explaining that "almost all of the society's committees think we work just for them." She said the store has a volunteer staff of 20 persons, who work according to a regular schedule.

Study sessions are often held at the store, and the sessions sometimes lead to recruitment of new members, she said.

## Three Youth Chapters

But the movement to involve people in the John Birch society here is not aimed only at adults. One of approximately three youth chapters of the society in the midwest was recently formed in Wauwatosa.

Richard R. Pemper, 17, of 8428 W. Blue Mound rd., Wauwatosa, heads a chapter, which is similar to groups Welch has urged nationally under the title Youth Needs Truth (YNT). In the June bulletin, it is said that adult members should be "very carefully and diplomatically, but nevertheless very forcefully, bringing the sons and daughters of our own members into the society, as the core of this activity, and then forming these teen agers into chapters."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

C-1  
MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
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Pemper, a senior at Wauwatosa East high school and an accomplished amateur magician, said his parents were not members, that his older brother had first interested him in the society. His fledgling group now has six members, but will grow quickly, he said.

#### Letter Writing, Petitions

"Our activities will be letter writing campaigns for a start. We will also get petitions supporting the Vietnam War and the TRAIN (To Restore American Independence Now) movement signed," Pemper said.

(TRAIN is a Birch "ad hoc committee" dedicated to ending all United States economic ties with nations either Communist controlled or notro avowedly pro-American.)

Pemper admitted that his fellow high school students ridicule him for his beliefs, which are not always in keeping with their sympathies. He said, however, that it is his duty to "have no fellowship with the forces of evil" and to persevere in his activities.

"I never became a true Christian until I joined the John Birch society. Until then, I never really accepted Christ as my savior," Pemper said. He said he intends to become either a minister or a physicist.

#### Has Job as Writer

Pemper said he holds a steady job as a part-time writer and circulation department worker for the Milwaukee Metro News, a local conservative publication.

Jerome F. Borkoski, 44, of 4105 N. 90th st., publisher of the Metro News, said Pemper "was not on the payroll," and that "he does not influence our editorial policy at all."

Borkoski has taken a leave of absence from his position as the paper's executive editor to work with a committee seeking to establish another daily newspaper in Milwaukee.

Some liberals have suggested that Borkoski's paper is used by rightists to foster their ends, including recruiting.

"The Metro News is not a John Birch society propaganda organ," Borkoski said. The society publishes opinionated pamphlets, he said, while newspapers should publish news objectively.

#### Rely on News Releases

However, Borkoski admitted, "Because we have a limited staff, we have to get news releases. Our readers have developed into a particular kind of audience and we find ourselves being influenced by this group more than others," he said.

Borkoski described Metro readers as "families of parents who give a damn. Therefore if you, or anyone else, wants to classify these people as conservatives by that definition, then I suppose I would admit that the Metro News is most appealing to this element in the community," he said.

"And so help me God, if we continue to discourage these right-thinking people by overburdening them with a daily press warped and bent on publicizing the revolutionaries, the draft card burners, the flag burners, the marchers, the hippies and drug users, the killers and molesters with all the front page headlines while passing by the young people who behave... then as newspapermen we fail to stimulate and give nourishment to the good people who in my estimation make up the majority of this community," Borkoski said.

He said his paper, which has a press run of about 15,200 copies weekly, appeals to the majority of the people in the Milwaukee area. Stories in his paper frequently report the activities of rightist groups locally.

#### Thiensville Group Prominent

Included in these groups is the Wisconsin Legislative and Research Committee, Inc., of Thiensville. The group, formed in 1968, is officially nonpartisan, nonprofit, and not affiliated with any other group.

However, the group's position that "... never before has the threat of internal anarchy and communism been so imminent" places it in complete agreement with the Birch society position.

Dr. Theodore Meves, committee vice-chairman, and his wife Virginia, of 18310 Benington dr., Brookfield, have been active in fighting public sex education. They have appeared at numerous MOTOREDE meetings. Mrs. Meves recently spoke at a meeting in Grafton in support of a boycott against Port Publications, Inc., the firm that prints Milwaukee's underground newspaper Kaleidoscope.

The committee is in sympathy with another national organization, the Christian Crusade of Tulsa, Okla. Founded by Dr. Fred Schwarz, the rightist group was originally responsible for starting the sex education controversy, according to sources at the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

#### First Convention Aug. 9

Dr. Gordon Drake, educational director for the Crusade, is scheduled to speak at the committee's first annual convention at Milwaukee's Sheraton-Schroeder hotel Aug. 9. Although many Crusade members or sympathizers are involved in other local right-wing groups, there appears to be no local chapter of the Crusade.

Another rightist organization, the American Party of Wisconsin, relies heavily on Metropolitan Milwaukee for support. The party, formed Jan. 26 in Fond du Lac, is a coalition of former Wallace for President committees.

Edward S. Friend of Hubertus, party vice-chairman, said the party was not controlled by the Birch society and that he would never join that group. However, Birchers and American party members share disillusionment with "more and more interfering fascist government directives and controls on citizens," Friend said.

Since January, the party was primarily involved in an unsuccessful attempt to have its name included on the ballot in the special 7th district congressional election held when Rep. Melvin Laird resigned to become secretary of defense.



#### Sees Long Wait

"It will be a hell of a long time before we win a vast number of offices," Friend said.

The important thing is that the facts, as the American party sees them, become known, he said.

A rumored consolidation of the party and the former Wisconsin Congress of Conservatives never materialized, according to Friend. That group, whose support is centered in suburban Milwaukee, was formed in 1966. It included former members of Americans for Constitutional Action, the Republican party and the John Birch society.

Congress Vice-Chairman Robert W. Johnson, 3802 N. 97th pl., a former member of the Birch society, said the group has been inactive this year. It has changed its name to the Conservative Party of Wisconsin, he said.

Richard  
R.  
Pemper



BORKOSKI



FRIEND



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Birch Film Labels Sex Education Evil

If children are taught sex education at school, a film said Monday, the following will be emphasized:

Dogs and frogs copulating.  
Drawings of a couple under a sheet.

Diagrams of the human body.

And other things so awful the film "could not in good taste show."

When the diagrams were presented on screen, they were accompanied by music with a drum roll — the kind that says something sinister is happening or about to.

Further, the whole scheme was tied to a Communist plan dating from 1919 "to corrupt the young; get them interested in sex."

If this disgusts you, about 250 adults were told, join the Movement to Restore Decency (Motorede).

## Birch Society Films

The half hour film, "Innocents Defiled," and another on pornography, obscenity and drugs, called "The Pied Piper," were shown by a John Birch society committee at American Serb Memorial hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma av.

In the past when the Birch society sponsored such films its sponsorship fact was not mentioned.

This time it was pointed out. The reason, the film said, that the society decided to form Motorede committees was to help parents who were getting nowhere in their protest against sex education. With its nationwide organization, the society forced "the left" to pay attention.

"The left," the film made clear, includes daily newspapers and magazines such as Time, Life, Esquire and Look.

The film showed pictures of the covers of magazine Sexplo-ty and said the articles were going to be sneaked into sex education programs under other titles.

## Leaders Beliefs

Some sex education leaders hold such beliefs as "sex is fun" and "any absolute moral stand is unthinkable," the film said.

If sex education is not stopped, the United States will become like Sweden, where "95% of the women had sexual experience before marriage."

No percentages were given for the number of men who had premarital sex experience, but the male narrator said things were so bad in Sweden that boys were studying home economics. "The roles of husband and wife are interchangeable," he said.

"I don't see anything so bad about that," a woman in the audience quietly commented to her friend.

In the "Pied Piper," various drugs were explained and psychedelic music was condemned as containing hidden messages about sex and drugs.

"Join the Movement to Restore Decency," the film concluded, "before the needle is in your child's arm."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Films Call Media 'Sinner'

More than 350 persons, mostly over 30, sat in quiet agreement Monday night watching two films that labeled as "Communist oriented" the issues of sex education, drugs and pornography.

The films, sponsored by the John Birch society, condemned the mass media as "society's biggest sinner against society."

The programs were presented in the American Serb Memorial hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma av. and sponsored by the West Axis and south side Movement to Restore Decency (Motoredey). The movement was initiated and funded by the John Birch society.

The first film, "The Pied Piper," gave a documentary explanation of drugs and pornography.

Joints, downers, speed, trips, blue heavens and red jackets were all flashed in color across the screen to give parents a better idea of what their children may be popping into their mouths or shooting into their veins.

The film condemned today's psychedelic music as "all containing hidden messages of sex, obscenity and drugs." It singled out recordings such as "Along Comes Mary" by the Association and "Luci in the Sky With Diamonds," by the Beatles as blatantly concerned only with sex and marijuana. The film said that in the Beatles' song, "Luci," "Sky" and "Diamonds" in the title stood for LSD.

The "Piper" film also blamed the mass media for promoting drugs and sex by "making it seem that everybody's doing it."

"The media is making our youngsters the tools of organizers of group hatred," the film's narrator said as articles printed in Esquire, Look, Life and Time magazines flashed across the screen.

## Sex Education Hit

The second program, "Innocents Defiled," black-balled the entire sex education issues, labled it "Communist orientated" and plastered mug shots of sex education leaders on the screen "so that you will know what they look like and be able to detect their presence."

The narrator warned the audience that if sex education is not stopped "the United States will just become another Sweden where 95% of all women have sex relations before marriage."

Sweden has been teaching sex education in its school system for more than 25 years.

## Couples Jump

Couples in the audience seemed jumpy when diagrams of nude men and women were shown on the slides but some nudged and poked the person next to them when the narrator said something with which they agreed.

Both films finished their dramatic presentations with a loud drum roll backgrounding a plea for the audience to join the Motoredey group.

"It's all up to you," the narrator boomed. "You must stop all this trash from reaching our youngsters and you must stop it now before it's too late."

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# Wisconsin GOP Denies Birch Society Influence

This is the last in a series of four articles on rightist and conservative groups active in the metropolitan area.

By RICHARD G. FEYER

Republican leaders in Wisconsin consider John Birch society members to be "far noisier than they are numerous," and contend the society has "very little or no influence in the Wisconsin GOP."

A high ranking Republican party source who asked not to be identified said that the rightist group, now active in a controversy about sex education in public schools, has caused problems for the area GOP.

Birch groups function actively in eastern Waukesha county or north-eastern Milwaukee county suburbs. In the remainder of the state there are few Birch members, the source said.

## Unfairness Charged

"It's just as fair to say Communists are Democrats as to say Birchers are Republicans," the source said. He said many Birchers supported third party candidate George Wallace (not Nixon) during the 1968 presidential campaign.

"Birch supporters of Sen. Barry Goldwater in his presidential campaign in 1964 were not in the official Goldwater movement here. We fought to keep them out — they gave our candidates a bad image. The Birchites were not really speaking for them. They may have thought they were, but they were not," the source said.

Another party source said that when Birchites in the above mentioned areas see a chance to take over an organization either inside or outside the GOP, they seize the opportunity. One example is an attempted Birch takeover of the Waukesha county Republican party organization in 1967.

## "No GOP Adjunct"

"We mustered enough votes to defeat them," this source said.

Both GOP sources said it was preposterous to say Birch political philosophy in any way resembled the mainstream of Republican party thought. Nor is the society a right wing adjunct to the GOP.

"Anyone who believes this is either misinformed, has been deliberately misled or is just plain stupid," the first source said.

Concern about the Birch society is not restricted to the GOP, however.

## Warshafsky Protests

Atty. Ted M. Warshafsky of 536 W. Wisconsin av., active in Democratic politics and a McCarthy delegate to the 1968 Democratic national convention, said:

"They (Birchers) offer simplistic explanations for complex problems. . . . They appeal to the hopes of unhappy people to resolve the problems of our society without all of the effort and hard work necessary to do this."

Birchers will often try to infiltrate other groups, or use other people in "ad hoc committee" front groups, Warshafsky said. By this subtle approach, people are not aware they are being used, he said. An example may be the sex education controversy, Warshafsky said.

In this controversy the John Birch society appeals to the irrational responses and fears of other people," he said.

## Sex Education Issue

"The rightist issue now is definitely SIECUS (The Sex Information and Education Council of the United States)," according to the first GOP spokesman. "But to a large degree, this is not a political question. People in the anti-sex-education movement are not always politically involved. I don't believe their support will be translatable into votes," he said.

Jay G. Sykes, president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) — a group frequently criticized by Birchites — said: "Because they are more vocal than many others, Birchers wield influence out of proportion to their numbers."

Locally, however, Birchers are not a real threat, he said.

## No Local Labor Program

Nationally, the AFL-CIO has active programs designed to combat anti-labor John Birch society tenets, but there is no such program locally according to a labor official, John Schmitt.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Schmitt, president of the state AFL-CIO, said he did not underestimate the Birch potential in the metropolitan area. But in spite of the fact that the society has two elected officials among its ranks locally, Assemblymen George H. Klicka (R-Buffalo) and Kenneth J. Merkel (D-Crotona field), Birchites are not a political force to be reckoned with at the moment, Schmitt said.

#### "Influence Limited"

The GOP source connected with Schmitt.

"The political future of a known Birch member who is elected is definitely limited," one source said. "Such a legislator draws his support from a limited area. If he were to run for an office representing a large constituency, he would be trounced," the source said.

[Both Assemblymen Klicka and Merkel maintain that the Birch society can muster political clout. The society's disciplined and organized activists can get out the ultraconservative vote when necessary, they say.]

"Ultraconservative opinion here, such as that of the Birch society is not representative of true conservatism," said the local head of an organization which collects data on Birchites to watch for anti-Semitism.

#### "Upper Class Radicals"

Saul Sorin, head of the Milwaukee chapter of the Antidefamation League of B'Nai B'rith said area Birchites are "upper class radicals who want to reverse or eliminate the trend of decadence since the Sherman antitrust act and (Franklin Delano) Roosevelt."

#### "They Exploit Fears"

A hallmark of the Birch society is "the walnut paneled den," he said. The majority of true conservative opinion is centered among people who couldn't afford that luxury — blue collar or lower middle class citizens, Sorin said.

Many of these people can be used for Birch projects, Sorin said. The thrust of such activity locally is undoubtedly behind the movement against sex education in public schools. "This controversy shows the ability of the Birch society to grab hold of a person's fear and exploit it."

"The John Birch society has no ideology except fear. They cultivate people's fears purposely and play on whichever fear is most topical," he said.

Many Birch sources denied this claim. Similar viewpoints draw concerned citizens together. The Birch society merely provides a forum for these people to put their prior convictions to work, they said.



Saul Sorin

Jay G. Sykes

Ted Warshawsky



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Merkel No Longer Ignored; He and Allies Hold Power

By EUGENE C. HARRINGTON  
Journal Madison Bureau

The aftermath of the bitter, braising session of the 1969 legislature has thrust into greater prominence a slender, outspoken electrical engineer who doubles as a state legislator.

While Republican Assemblyman Kenneth J. Merkel was in the forefront of the 1969 legislative conservative tide, he now has become as prominent as a birch in a stand of pines.

As chairman of a committee which will begin this week to study urban problems, the winds of protest at cutbacks in welfare programs and plans for helping the urban poor are swirling around his suburban Brookfield home.

## Subject of Criticism

Merkel's committee hearings will open at 10 a.m.

Monday at the state office building in Milwaukee.

His role in the committee, one which is designed to offer legislation at a special session beginning Sept. 29,



Kenneth Merkel

has been sharply criticized by political opponents and newspaper editorial writers. Little in his record in three legislative sessions, they allege, shows an awareness of,

or sympathy toward the poor of the cities.

Merkel's reaction is consistent: Return to the basic moral principles, work hard at educating yourself, at maintaining strong family ties, at your chosen occupation and there would be no need for welfare doles or poverty.

Merkel is proud that he has "made it." His was not from an affluent background, he says, and has achieved his upper middle class status through hard work and strong desire.

## Proud of Birch Ties

The view of Kenneth Merkel as a legislator has changed a bit this session. In his first two sessions — he was first elected in 1964 — he was regarded as an interesting, likeable character, but one who was going nowhere with the political philosophy he espoused and the legislative proposals he made.

The philosophy and the bills reflected the thinking of the John Birch society, of which Merkel is a proud member.

While regarded as a hard worker, and one not afraid to speak for or against proposals on the floor of the assembly, Merkel was considered by legislators as not too dangerous with some of his far reaching ideas — major revisions in the tax structure and state school systems, outright opposition to governmental condemnation and urban redevelopment, and stringent restrictions on spending and state agency operations.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

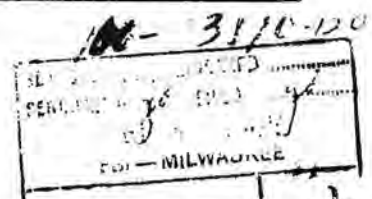
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But Merkel gained allies and, in this session, he and his colleagues took control. Legislators whose views coincided somewhat with his and Merkel himself ran the powerful joint finance committee, resulting in the most drastic revision of a gubernatorial budget proposal in history.

Now, Merkel is regarded as a more effective, more dangerous legislator, who has a

*From page 1*

strong chance of getting his legislative ideas endorsed.

This does not mean that Merkel is not liked by his colleagues.

He has a disarming, small boy air about him while he needles or cajoles state officials. He assumes an attitude of naivete and blank puzzlement about the whole operation and chews on his tongue as he delivers his needling in a voice that sometime cracks. He is the butt of jokes by his colleagues on the finance committee, mainly because his reactions to them are enjoyable.

But his determination to get his ideas delivered and the obvious study he has put into his work is respected. Another quality is his resiliency. When one of his bills gets shot down, Merkel does not brood and complain, but turns to another bill and begins pushing for it.

In addition to his major role in developing the budget this year (he makes frequent use of a slide rule), Merkel has been deeply involved in John Birch society campaign against present methods of sex education in the schools and in the volatile Dirksen amendment to allow one

house of a legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than population.

In the weeks ahead, his name will be increasingly before the public. He already has achieved a form of notoriety granted to few men — his name has been on a bumper sticker.

Like one of his favorite targets, University of Wisconsin President Fred H. Harrington, some cars proclaim opposition to him: "Shame on Shabaz, and Merkel Too." Shabaz is Assemblyman John C. Shabaz (R-New Berlin), a geographical and philosophical neighbor on the finance committee.

Merkel is 41 years old and was born in Marshfield. He is a nephew of State Sen. Raymond F. Heinzen (R-Marshfield). The Brookfield Republican attended Marquette State college and received a degree in engineering from Marquette University in 1949.

He also attended U.W.M. Merkel works for the Kearney-Trecker Corp.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Foes Set Up Opposition To Merkel

A group of constituents of Assemblyman Kenneth J. Merkel (R-Brookfield) have formed the Suburban Citizens for Responsible Representation in opposition to Merkel's chairmanship of a special Republican committee to study problems of the urban poor.

Friday, the group issued a position paper "to illustrate that his (Merkel's) actions as a legislator do not represent us."

The paper described the group as "concerned voters of the first district who have long been dissatisfied with our representation in the state legislature."

Merkel's appointment as head of the special study committee prompted the group to "object to his continued influence in the development of a divisive budget and resultant financial chaos within many programs," the paper said.

The position paper, to be presented to Merkel by a delegation from the group, makes seven points:

- It demands that Gov. Knowles' \$33 million urban aid package be approved by the legislature.

- It charges Merkel with the responsibility "for his major role in drafting a state budget that is punitive to the poor."

- It deplores the "unfair funding of the present state budget by the 4% sales tax which reduces purchasing power and especially in an area dependent on growth it may have a depressing effect

on construction and economic expansion."

- It questions the qualifications of Merkel to head the special committee in view of "his past performances and utterances which demonstrate his inability to understand the complex social and economic issues of the day."

- It states the group's belief that Merkel's membership in the John Birch society "with its documented bias toward minority groups" is not representative of district voters and is an additional reason why his chairmanship of the committee "can only increase the despair of the poor."

- It expresses the belief that Merkel has "demonstrated shortsighted expediency at the expense of the most powerless people in our society (those on welfare)."

- It declares that the withdrawal of funds from state programs "which have had considerable success in rehabilitation and job training runs contrary to the 'bootstrap' philosophy of the suburbs."

The position paper urges citizens to write their representatives and urge that they support the governor's program.

The Suburban Citizens for Responsible Representation informally organized Thursday night at a house down the street from Merkel's Brookfield home where Father James E. Groppi and his followers were demonstrating. Spokesmen refused to say where the meeting was held.

One of the group's chief complaints is that "we don't think our position is represented by his (Merkel's) previous record," said Rev. Keith Farnham, 3665 Ventura circle, pas-

tor of the Brookfield Methodist church.

Farnham, Francis Mitchell, of 2560 Tilton la., and Robert Lessl, of 980 Lois av., were named as spokesmen for the group, which they said had no elected officers or permanent chairman.

Lessl said that some of the group went from their meeting Thursday night over to Merkel's house to join Groppi and his followers in their demonstration.

He said the group would be interested in getting more people out to demonstrate.

"We have been very dissatisfied with some of the things he (Merkel) has been doing," Lessl said. "With the marches coming out here, we finally thought it was time we started doing something," he added.

Friday night, Groppi and his group demonstrated at the home of Republican Assemblyman John C. Shabaz, 21425 W. Glengary rd., New Berlin.

Police said there were no incidents.

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# ~~Birch Society,~~ ~~CLU Philosophies Defended~~

By MARIAN McBRIDE

BILLED AS representatives of "divergent philosophies," spokesmen for the Wisconsin Civil Liberties union and the John Birch society divided the meeting Wednesday of the Women's Court and Civic conference, but did not clash head on.

The program at the YWCA featured Edward M. McManus, executive director of the WCLU, in the morning and John E. Selck, co-ordinator and aid field representative for the Birchers, after lunch.

"I'd like to make it clear we differ with the John Birch society on some positions, but not all," McManus said. "We are different kinds of organizations. The Birch society takes positions on some political issues, but our organization does not. We've defended the John Birch society. In Philadelphia when a policeman was thrown off the force for Birch membership we defended him and got him back on the force."

McManus anticipated a hostile audience among the 160 women, particularly when he attempted to explain the CLU positions on "the Father Groppi case" and pornography in the movies. The conference has an active committee working on movie classification.

The majority of the audience applauded when a member asked:

"How did our country survive all these years with higher standards of morality and how long are we going to last now?"

Mrs. Walter J. Steininger, 10201 W. Nash st., Wauwa-

tosa, asked if Dist. Atty. Michael McCann's former membership in the CLU was not the reason he had not prepared a stronger case against the showing of "I, a Woman."

McManus said McCann had never been a member of CLU.

Asked if CLU members "tried to infiltrate organizations like the John Birch did the Catholic women's council," McManus replied:

"No. We're even against police undercover agents. We think this is a violation of the search and seizure laws. But I think we have some infiltrators in our organization."

McManus received some scattered applause when he said that many people misunderstand the CLU "because they don't understand the process of due law. We even defended George Wallace's right to be on the ballot in Ohio . . . and one of our members, a Negro, was the attorney."

"We took on the Groppi case," McManus said, "because we were disturbed about the treatment he received from the legislature. We also were disturbed about the taking over of the assembly, but in our country we believe a person is innocent until proven guilty. We are testing the old law, which allows the legislature to put someone in jail."

McManus referred to the

legislature's use of an old law invoked after Father James Groppi led welfare marchers into the assembly Sept. 29.

"The CLU is dedicated to the protection of the bill of rights," McManus said. "We are misunderstood because many people identify us with our clients. You wouldn't condemn a private lawyer who defended a murderer. But others — lot of others — don't think the bill of rights applies to everyone or shouldn't apply to everyone."

Contrary to McManus, Selck said to the women: "I think most of you are with me."

Although he denied being an "official spokesman," Selck said he gave up his business two years ago to be a paid worker for the John Birch society.

In answer to a question, Selck said the society believes in the innocent until proven guilty doctrine, but wonders about "a chief justice who doesn't." Selck said Justice Warren Burger had said he would like to eliminate trial by jury.

"The latest bulletin of our society has suggested we write letters to support the nomination of Haynsworth, but I don't know enough about him," Selck said. He referred to the dispute, nomination of Clement F. Haynsworth to the supreme court. Selck said he assumed the

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FBI - MILWAUKEE	



suggestion was made because "some of his opponents have supported" issues such as aid to Communist countries.

"We're not secret," Selck said in answer to a question about Birch members causing friction in church groups. "They may be members of the society, but may be members of the Catholic or Lutheran church and they don't go there as Birchers. If he's wrong put him down. We're not here to break up religions."

Asked by Mrs. Cecil Fisher, 4100 N. 15th st., "What does the society think of Negroes?", Selck said:

"There are no racist feelings in the society."

He said there were several Negro chapters of the society in Chicago and mentioned two Negro ministers and Julia Brown, a former counter-spy for the FBI as prominent members.

Selck said "defective, pre-fabricated ideas in the universities drove me into the John Birch society." He mentioned in particular classes at the University of Minnesota.

Danger signals which could lead to dictatorship in America were listed by Selck as: "1. The carefully contrived attack against the police forces; 2. The supreme court through criminal law decisions has made law enforcement almost impossible; 3. Ready funding of revolutionary groups through the

war on poverty; 4. Relaxing of immigration laws; 5. The new left; 6. Drug addicts; and 7. The whole raft of presidential decrees by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, which would permit all phases of government to be directed by the president and cabinet" in the event of civil emergency.

Selck listed possible solu-

tions to the Vietnam war, in addition to "run, run, run" or "bomb, bomb, bomb" as: "Use more psychological warfare; train Vietnamese to infiltrate enemy lines; cut off aid to trade with Communist countries; set loose Chiang Kai-shek's trained troops," and sink a dredge in the channel to the main port.

ROBERT WELCH  
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

March 3, 1970

Editor, Milwaukee Journal  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Sir:

An editorial in your issue of February 23 begins as follows: "When better fairy tales are written the John Birch Society will publish them." May we comment that when more blatant distortions of fact are exhibited on America's editorial pages, you will undoubtedly find the Milwaukee Journal leading the parade.

The photograph of Goldwater giving the clenched fist salute did not appear in "a recent copy" of American Opinion, as stated in your editorial; nor in any other issue of that magazine. Nor did it have the slightest connection with other matters in that magazine which you slyly related to it. The Bulletin of the Society for July, 1969 reprinted this photograph from the July 11, 1964 edition of the Communist paper, The People's World. The Bulletin also explained that the photograph itself was "undoubtedly a phony composite," made without Goldwater even knowing anything about it. Your editorial omitted these facts entirely.

We stated in our Bulletin that, in 1964, the Communists were entirely willing to have even so good a Conservative as Goldwater nominated by the Republicans, because they were positive that Nelson Rockefeller and other Liberals in the Republican Party would undercut Goldwater so extensively as to ensure his overwhelming defeat. And because the Communists felt that this defeat would be almost a knockout blow to the morale of the American Conservatives. Which is exactly what happened. But you implied that we had accused Goldwater of being at least a willing tool of the Communists. This we believe to have been a deliberate misrepresentation on your part, used to discredit The John Birch Society.

We shall be glad to have you publish this letter, correcting the utterly false impression you have created, if you carry it in full without changing a word or a comma. Otherwise, forget it. We are sending copies of the letter, anyway, to all of our members in the Milwaukee area, so that they will know — and can show their friends — exactly what we have written, and what the truth was about the Goldwater picture.

Sincerely,

*Robert Welch*

Founder, The John Birch Society

100-13570 -12

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MAR 12 1970	
FBI - MILWAUKEE	

RW:cal

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b7C

File from 3/12/70

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Sailor Suspects US in Seizure of Pueblo

United States officials could have been a part of plans that led to the seizure of the Pueblo, a former Pueblo crewman said here Monday night.

Lee R. Hayes, 28, of Columbus, Ohio, described the Pueblo incident and his 11 months' imprisonment in North Korea to an audience that filled the main floor and the balcony of the Pabst Theater.

Hayes, a second class petty officer at the time of the capture, was a radioman aboard the Pueblo. He said he left the Navy when his enlistment was up last August so he could be free to speak without government restrictions.

Hayes, who is on a paid speaking tour for the John Birch Society, said that when the ship was seized Jan. 23, 1968, and the crew was taken to a Korean prison camp, it looked as though the Koreans had been expecting them.

"Everything was ready, right down to the number of beds," he said.

## Message Cited

Such preparations and several other incidents led him to believe in the possibility of US participation in the incident, he said. He cited a message that had been sent by the National Security Agency a week before the ship was to leave on the mission, but that somehow was lost.

He said the rejection of the ship's request for devices to destroy classified material and the fact that there were US ships in the area to help the Pueblo also contributed to his feelings.

"I'm not sure (if the US participated)," he said. "But if it was planned, it couldn't have been done better."

He drew the biggest applause of the evening when he mentioned the war in Vietnam and said: "The politicians should untie the hands of the

military. Let them fight, let them win, and get out. . . . The war in Vietnam means victory for one side or the other. I want it to be us."

Hayes said he had attended Birch meetings since 1965. He said he joined the society after his return from Korea in 1969 to fight communism.

"I'm convinced we face a deliberate plan by very smart men to weaken us," he said, "and to create a world govern-

ment of communism. . . . If a person is going to be anti-Communist, he should go first class."

Hayes urged the audience to support America as hard as the Communists were trying to destroy it. He said they could do this by supporting the police, finding out what is taught in the schools (using legal means to get rid of what they didn't like) and trying to get prayer back into the schools.



Lee R. Hayes

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

R-4  
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 4/28/70  
Edition: LATE  
Author:  
Editor: MICHAEL H. LEONARD  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE  
☐ Being Investigated

- 124  
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....  
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....  
APR 29 1970  
FBI - MILWAUKEE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Reprisal Favored By Pueblo Sailor

The United States should have retaliated against North Korea when that government captured the USS Pueblo Jan. 23, 1968, a former member of its crew who now works for the John Birch Society said Monday.

"The government told my captain that they would retaliate against any nation that might capture or sink the Pueblo," Lee R. Hayes, former head radioman on the Pueblo, said at a press conference at the Holiday Inn Central.

Hayes, 28, of Columbus, Ohio, is a salaried Birch member who is on a speaking tour of the United States.

"After a few weeks in prison we thought we would rot there . . . be statistics," said Hayes, who said he suffered a broken jaw at the hands of his captors.

After the crew was released Dec. 23, 1968, Hayes joined the Birch Society. He said he has been attending the group's meetings since 1965, but did

not formally join the group until after the crew's release.

A navy man since 1961, he quit the service last August to devote his time to the society.

"The government put restrictions on my talking, so I got out," he said.

His speaking tour, he said, is aimed at "getting people involved to support our form of government." He added, however, that he was not particularly pleased with the way the government is now being run.

Hayes was in Milwaukee for a Monday night talk at the Pabst Theater. It was sponsored by the Alert Citizens Forum, a John Birch Society affiliate.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-7

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Date: 4/25/70

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor: HAROLD CONNORRY

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: MILWAUKEE

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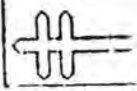
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FBI - MILWAUKEE

AT ONLY



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
517 E. Wisconsin Ave  
Milwaukee Wisconsin

FIGHT TB  
AND OTHER  
RESPIRATORY  
DISEASES





# ANNOUNCING

A SPECIAL PRESENTATION FOR  
FIREMEN AND POLICEMEN



## JERRY KIRK

HEAR THIS 21 YEAR OLD FORMER F.B.I. COUNTERSPY AND  
MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY GIVE YOU A FIRST  
HAND REPORT ON HIS EXPERIENCES:

## INSIDE THE REVOLUTION

JERRY KIRK SERVED AS AN F.B.I. COUNTERSPY WITHIN THE NEW LEFT WHILE A STUDENT AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. HE TRAINED AT A N.Y. COMMUNIST SCHOOL. HE SERVED AS A MIDWEST  
DIRECTOR OF THE SUBVERSIVE DU BOIS CLUBS AND AN ADVISOR TO THE BLACKSTONE RANGERS.  
SINCE TESTIFYING IN WASHINGTON HE HAS BEEN WARNING US WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING

!!!! INSIDE THE REVOLUTION !!!!

THIS PROGRAM IS BEING PRESENTED TO THOSE MEN WHO  
MUST MEET THE CHALLENGE THAT THE PRESENT CAMPUS  
DISORDERS AND RIOTS PRESENT TO THEM.

ALL FIREMEN AND POLICEMEN ATTENDING AND  
THEIR GUESTS WILL BE ADMITTED FREE WITH THIS  
ANNOUNCEMENT.

A SPECIAL INVITATION IS EXTENDED TO ALL  
HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE STUDENTS.

XXXXXXX

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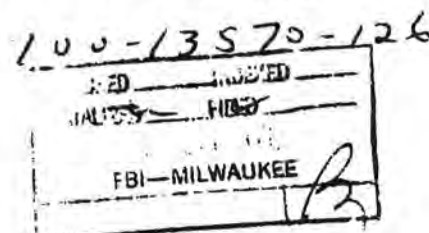
DATE:: WED, JULY. 15, 1970

PLACE:: THE VAGABOND STEAK HOUSE-639 W. LAYTON AVE.

TIME:: 8:00 P.M.

Sponsored by  
THE ALERT CITIZENS' FORUM  
and

The Greater Milwaukee Area TACT Committees



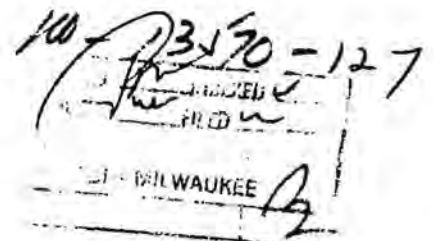
"SERIES SCHEDULE"

- #1. Wed. July 15, 1970. "Jerry Kirk". *index*
- #2. DATE: Wed. July 22, 1970  
TIME: 8:00 P.M.  
PLACE: The Vagabond Steak House. 639 W. Layton Ave.  
PRESENTATION:  
"COMMUNISTS ON CAMPUS"  
"REVOLUTION UNDERWAY"
- #3. DATE: Wed. July 29, 1970  
TIME: 8:00 P.M.  
PLACE: The Vagabond Steak House, 639 W. Layton Ave.  
PRESENTATION:  
"THE WAR ON POVERTY"  
"THE GREAT PRETENSE"
- #4. DATE: Wed. August 5, 1970  
TIME: 8:00 P.M.  
PLACE: To be announced on July 29, 1970.  
PRESENTATION:  
"VIETNAM, BACKGROUND TO BETRAIL"  
"THE U.N., PEACE DOVE UNMASKED"
- #5. DATE: Wed. August 12, 1970  
TIME: 8:00 P.M.  
PLACE: To be announced on August 5, 1970.  
PRESENTATION:  
The answer to these problems and the many others  
America faces today. Titles to be announced on  
Wed. August 5, 1970.

"GENERAL GROUND RULES"

- #1. All programs will begin at 8:00 P.M.  
#2. All programs should end, no later than 10:00 P.M.  
#3. No discussions will be held regarding any political  
parties or religious beliefs.

*100-13570-125*  
We of the Alert Citizens' Forum  
thank you.





(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Birch Writer Speaks**Dr. King, New York Times  
Called Red Sympathizers**By **PETE PETERLIK**  
Press-Gazette Staff Writer

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the New York Times were dismissed as Communist sympathizers by a speaker who appeared at the Elks Club here Tuesday night as a guest of a group called the Brown County Support Your Local Police Committee.

Ecologist Dr. Paul Ehrlich and his Zero Population Growth movement, Women's Lib, Time, Life, Look and Newsweek magazines, and all three major television networks also fell under the rhetorical, right-hook of David E. Gumaer, a writer for John Birch Society publications and former undercover police operative in student protest movements.

The John Birch Society, in fact, was one of the few organizations Gumaer had kind words for in several departures from the central theme of his three-hour speech on the Communist revolution he claims is under way in America under the guise of student dissent.

**Lauds McCarthy**

The society, he said, had been unjustly maligned in a deliberate Communist campaign initiated by a directive from Moscow in 1963 and perpetrated by the American liberal press. Senator Joseph McCarthy, whom he termed "undoubtedly one of the finest patriots we've ever had" was also "viciously maligned" by Communist-inspired propaganda, according to the speaker.

King, Gumaer said, chose "We Shall Overcome," written

by "known Communist, Pete Seeger," as the theme song for his civil rights movement and once raised a closed fist, the "international sign for communism" at the end of a U.N. speech in which he attacked the United States as the main perpetrator of atrocities in the modern world.

**Called Marxist**

Communists Gumaer said he had worked with in the youth movement often told him "if you want to know what the Communist party line is, read the New York Times."

Ehrlich was called "a flaming Marxist at best," the population control movement was called a Communist plot—"they want to breed us out of existence"—and the Woman's Liberation Movement was termed "Communist backed."

The major magazines, he said, have been guilty of distortions and have glorified Communist revolution and admonished patriotism, and the television networks have not only encouraged, but participated in revolutionary violence at student demonstrations.

Television, Gumaer said, focused on police brutality at the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968 and ignored the provocations.

**Tells of Incidents**

He said he had observed radical students kick police with razor blades imbedded in the soles of steel-toed boots, beat them with nailed clubs, spit on them, curse them and hurl bags of human excrement at them during the riots.

Cameramen and reporters for NBC, CBS and ABC were circulating in the crowd all the while, Gumaer said, encouraging students to "attack the fascist pig police."

The provocations, he said, were "conveniently edited out" by the media and there was never any mention that the march on the convention was a "Communist program from beginning to end."

Relating similar incidents of violence against police and National Guard troops in Washington, New York, California and elsewhere, Gumaer said the student protest movement "is a treasonous movement, there's no question about that," which is "intended to overthrow the government from within."

**'Not Spontaneous'**

He said there is "nothing spontaneous" about campus unrest, that "they are carefully programmed movements," operated by professional Communist agitators, many of whom he identified as sons and daughters of registered members of the American Communist party.

Among the youth groups he identified as sponsored by the Communist Party were the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, SDS and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Gumaer warned that radical youths are being armed for revolution all over the United States and trained in Moscow, Havana and elsewhere for insurrection which is imminent within the next few years unless something is done to stop it.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Date: 1 - 1 - 69  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

128  
3-30-69



#### **Says Bombs Planted**

Localizing the threat, he said several bombs are known to be planted on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison, awaiting triggering devices, but that administrators won't allow police on campus to disarm them.

Gumaer said there are also 30 known Communist rings operating within the federal government, but that the FBI is powerless to do anything about it because of Supreme Court rulings and a gag rule imposed by President Eisenhower in 1953 which prevents investigations of communism in government.

Extremely critical of Supreme Court decisions which have "handcuffed" law enforcement officials, Gumaer also said the past four attorney generals had "refused to prosecute known Communists for treason and sedition," and other branches of government had purposely covered up Communist connections in political assassinations.

#### **'Covered Up'**

Lee Harvey Oswald, he said, was a Trotskyite Communist who had undergone several months of training in Kiev, Russia, married the niece of the top KGB agent in the Soviet Union and attempted the assassination of General Edwin Walker before killing President Kennedy, "but the Warren Commission covered it all up."

Sirhan Sirhan, assassin of Robert F. Kennedy, Gumaer stated, was a member of the SDS and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, but these facts were never divulged to the public.

Gumaer, who said he had been a member of the John Birch Society since 1963, currently writes for American Opinion and the Review of the News, two of its publications.

Support Your Local Police Committees are also connected with the John Birch Society.

RESERVATION FORM

You are cordially invited to attend a three-week series of film showings at the place and times shown below. Your participation in no way obligates you to membership in, nor endorsement of, The John Birch Society.

Location of Meetings:

American Opinion Library  
11617 West Bluemound Road  
Wauwatosa, WI 53226

DATE and TIME

PROGRAM

Wednesday, June 21  
7:30 P.M.

An Overview of Our World  
A new full length filmstrip which exposes the background, plans and purposes of the International Communist Conspiracy.

Wednesday, June 28  
8:00 P.M.

The Great Pretense  
This filmstrip tells how the free world finances Communism.

The War on Poverty  
This filmstrip explains how your tax dollars are being manipulated to destroy your own country.

Wednesday, July 5  
8:00 P.M.

This is The John Birch Society  
A filmed lecture by Mr. E. Griffin presenting the purposes, programs and objectives of The John Birch Society.

Yes, I plan to attend the three-week film series, beginning Wednesday, June 21. I will be bringing \_\_\_\_\_ guests with me.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

Please return the lower part of this form to:

Empty box for return address.

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b7c

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
JULY 7, 1972

The attached handout was obtained concerning a movie sponsored  
by the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.



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b7

<b>Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material</b> FD-306 (Rev. 9-30-69)		
<b>TO:</b> SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-13570)		<b>Date prepared</b> 7/7/72
<b>SUBJECT:</b> JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY		
<b>Date received</b> 7/7/72	<b>Received from (name or symbol number)</b> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 5px 0;"></div>	<b>Received by</b> SA <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div>
<b>Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)</b> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; font-size: small;"> <span><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in person</span> <span><input type="checkbox"/> by telephone</span> <span><input type="checkbox"/> by mail</span> <span><input type="checkbox"/> orally</span> <span><input type="checkbox"/> recording device</span> <span><input type="checkbox"/> written by Informant</span> </div>		
<b>If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:</b> Date dictated <u>7/7/72</u> by SA <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> to _____  Transcribed <u>7/7/72</u> Authenticated by Informant <u>7/7/72</u>		<b>Date of Report</b> 7/7/72
<b>Brief description of activity or material</b> <u>Information regarding John Birch Society.</u>		<b>Date(s) of activity</b> Current
_____ _____		<b>File where original is located if not attached</b> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 5px 0;"></div>
* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED. <input type="checkbox"/> Information recorded on a card index by _____ on date _____		
<b>Remarks:</b>                      <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-end;"> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p>100-13570 (1 - 100-13570)</p> <p>100-13570 (1 - <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px; display: inline-block;"></div>)</p> <p>WJW/14</p> <p>(2)</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: center;"> <p>Block Stamp</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: 150px; margin: 0 auto;"> <p>100-13570-129</p> <p>R- 1-2</p> <p>CS</p> </div> </div> </div>		

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Shortages Blamed on Socialists

Alan Stang, a John Birch Society writer and speaker, said the shortages Americans are experiencing were arranged by the "totalitarian socialists at the top" of federal government.

His talk was received enthusiastically by most of the audience that filled the 482 seat Vogel Hall in the Performing Arts Center.

"You are now being deliberately set up for the same food shortages, rationing and famine that will starve you into submission as the Communist dictator Josef Stalin used to starve the Ukrainians into submission 40 years ago," Stang said.

Ruinous inflation led to the downfall of the German government and the takeover by Hitler, he warned. He explained the federal debt by saying it was the same as if a housewife was given \$75 a week for household expenses and regularly spent \$100 a week. Such government spending, he said, is ruining the value of American money.

He called on the audience to inform themselves with John Birch Society literature. He held up a packet of reprints of articles by himself and other Birch writers for \$1. A tape of his speech was available for \$5.95. Such material is needed to help persuade friends to take action while there is still time to save the country, he said.

The talk was arranged by local John Birch Society chapters.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B-3  
The Milwaukee Journal  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Date: 2/14/74  
Edition: Latest  
Author:  
Editor: Richard H. Leonard  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Milwaukee  
☐ Being Investigated

100-13570-130

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 15 1974	
FBI-MILWAUKEE	

MI only



## *Your Opinion is Important!*

This opinion survey is distributed by members of the local chapters of The John Birch Society. The Society, a patriotic organization, has members working constantly toward the preservation of our American heritage of freedom and abundance.

Our major purpose for this survey is to find out what the people of the community are thinking in regard to the major issues of our time. For this, we need your help.

If you would like to share your opinions with us, please circle your answers to the following questions, add any comments you might like on the reverse side, fold this form so the return address shows and mail it to us. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Do you think the power and size of the Federal government should be:
  - a. decreased?
  - b. expanded?
  - c. maintained at present levels?
2. Do you think inflation is primarily caused by:
  - a. unions demanding higher wages?
  - b. businesses raising prices?
  - c. government inflating the money supply?
3. Do you believe our many serious problems are
  - a. due to blundering bureaucrats?
  - b. part of a plan to change our system of freedom and abundance into a socialist system of scarcity and controls?
4. Do you believe the primary cause of shortages is:
  - a. workers demanding higher wages?
  - b. government interference in the free-enterprise system?
  - c. exorbitant profits by businessmen?
5. What country produces 80% of the heroin that is destroying an ever-increasing number of our youth?
  - a. Turkey?
  - b. India?
  - c. Red China?
6. Do you think the United Nations is essentially:
  - a. a humanitarian organization?
  - b. an organization designed to destroy the independence of the U.S. and set up a one world government?
  - c. man's last hope for true peace?
7. Do you believe the TV, radio and newspapers are giving you:
  - a. objective news?
  - b. controlled news?
8. In your estimation, will our heritage of freedom and abundance be preserved by:
  - a. the "silent majority"?
  - b. citizens becoming informed and informing others through patriotic, educational organizations?
  - c. politicians and "expert" planners?

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY, STATE, ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

comments: \_\_\_\_\_

If you would like to make an interesting comparison, most of the members of The John Birch Society answer these questions like this: 1-a; 2-c; 3-b; 4-b; 5-c; 6-b; 7-b; 8-b.

Whatever your answers, return this survey and share your opinions with us. We would like to know how the community stands.

And just one more question: Would you like to know more about The John Birch Society and its work in promotion of Americanism and the preservation of our heritage of freedom and abundance?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Thank you.



*“...Finally someone cares  
about what I think!”*

*“Throwaway” found by  
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12/20/74. Filed for  
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(Title) JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY(File No.) 100-13570\*1. "American Opinion" April, 1966 issue.4/25/66 kr

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By \_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

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Description:

"AMERICAN OPINION" April, 1966  
issue.

# AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

APRIL, 1966

\$1.00

*The Honorable J. Reuben Clark Jr.*



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The following group of distinguished Americans give the editor comments and advice which are helpful in determining the editorial policy, contents, and opinions of this magazine. But no responsibility can be attributed to any members of this Committee for any specific articles, items, or conclusions which appear in these pages.

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March 14, 1966

Dear Reader:

When God raised the Founding Fathers, even beyond their own greatness, to the creation of the startling genius of the Constitution of the United States, He gave us a Republic. Our task is to preserve that Republic. And we find our commitment steeled by our belief that the God of Heaven who inspired our Constitution maintains a great and continuing interest in seeing it preserved.

That the Constitution is in danger, that it veritably hangs by a thread, is a matter beyond dispute. That the Republic is in mortal danger is a matter of simple if terrible fact. But, that God continues to raise up good and courageous and inspired men and women to help preserve and defend the Republic He has given us seems to us the continuing and preserving miracle. Drs. Revilo P. Oliver, Hans Sennholz, Robert H. Montgomery, Medford Evans, and Jim Lucier are not ordinary and uninspired men. The great novelist Taylor Caldwell, and the great Poet E. Merrill Root, are not un-touched by God's inspiring genius. America's trials and dangers are being met with courage and honor and that electrifying something that the mystics call the touch of God.

As we turn over to you this issue of AMERICAN OPINION, we record our belief, formally and with our personal certainty, that with the continuing help of God and the inspired men and women whose articles and essays you are about to read—and most especially with *your* help—this Republic will be preserved.

We are now facing our most bitter test, but we *will* succeed.

Sincerely,



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# POOR CORPS

## A Fiery Part I

Dwight Payton is a second-generation Kansas newspaper editor and publisher. A national prize-winning editorialist, he has edited and published the Overbrook Citizen, the Ellsworth Messenger, and (currently) the excellent Kansas Free Lance. Mr. Payton serves on the Board of Directors of the William Allen White Foundation at Kansas University and Kansas Tuberculosis Association.



■ THE OFFICE of Economic Opportunity, headed by Director R. Sargent Shriver, was established by law on August 20, 1964. Through 1966 it will have spent, coupled with its "companion" programs in the War on Poverty, some nine billion, four hundred and fifty-six million, three-hundred thousand dollars.

This accelerating effort to spend the poor rich is at this very moment pouring some thirty million dollars a week into more than two thousand American communities.

Is this the noblest undertaking of all the ages?

Or the nuttiest?

Are we about to cross the Utopian threshold into a brave, new, altruistic world of pushbutton prosperity where even slum dwellings will come equipped with private swimming pools and where only the welfare workers will be unemployed? Or, are we witnessing the political result of a moral breakdown on the part of once independent citizens

of a once individual-oriented nation?

Just what is to be said of this billion-buck blitz on poverty?

After spending months pouring over the muddle of opinions, reports, charges, and apologies, the one conclusion that most readily forms is this: When the ambitious men of politics have worked their way through the cookbook of vote-bloc recipes to the section entitled "Poverty Pottage with Slum Sauce," then, brother, the situation has to be one of two things: (1) Either we're about to reach the end of the line for this trip, or (2) we're on the verge of an epic breakthrough.

To state it more bluntly — we're at the point of breakthrough . . . or breakdown.

Thus, affluent readers, the War on Poverty's affront to the nation's free enterprise, insisting as it does that poverty can literally be bought up by tax-financed bureaucracy and transformed into self-sustaining productivity, becomes far more than a matter of *outré* political or philosophical interest; rather, it is of crucial concern.

That this isn't to be just another ground of politics is suggested by the policy line recommended by Republican wheelhorses as the proper stance to be taken by the "loyal opposition" in dealing with the so-called "anti-poverty" program. Politically astute Republicans, we have been told by Republicans who consider themselves politically astute, should "be for the program but opposed to the programmers," *i.e.* Republicans should paraphrase the ministerial attitude towards sin. Obviously, here



is a political ultimate, something to be FOR which outranks even the praise of motherhood and the detestation of sin in its universality and political safety. No one — but no one — would dare question either the wisdom or the feasibility of a full-legion, *carte-blanche* federal effort to unimpoverish the poor.

No one, that is, except those citizens who understand that greatest lesson of history's teaching: that it is better by far to suffer from a shortage of material wealth, and be free to do something about it, than to rely on government for the good things of life with no alternative allowed in case government lets you down — which, if one is to believe recorded history, it always has.

Whereas one might expect from the Poor Corps a concert sounding of jubilation and an electrifying inspiration of uplift, considering the huge sums of money already spent (over two-thousand millions of dollars), the one central note, the one overriding aspect of the helter-skelter of activity, has been the tenacious tendency for the program to corrupt those who come in contact with it. The poor themselves, already accustomed to relying on the massive pre-Poverty War welfare programs, are unable to escape having their meager hold on self-respect further diminished by the ministrations of whole hordes of mewling do-gooders out enjoying a vicarious sense of good samaritanism in the course of distributing public monies. Self-respect is a strange thing; it builds empires but lack of it creates and perpetuates slums.

The question is fairly asked, even at the risk of incurring the emphatic ire of the "Liberal" media and the royal purple rage of the Big Brother himself: Does a government-sponsored program to eliminate poverty have so much as a mirrored reflection of a ghost of a chance to succeed? The answer, echoed by all the oracles ranging from ancient Apollo at Delphi to Old Man Mose at

Dogpatch, declared by all the evidence of history, and enunciated by the very nature of mankind — is NO!

# I

IT HAS been both developing technique and growing tendency on the part of federal bureau barons like Mr. Shriver to cast every federal blunder and grotesquerie into a perspective relative to an imagined maximum—whereupon it reduces into insignificance. This tricky strategem has never been so well exercised as with the War on Poverty.



Job Corpsmen smashed this store.

The extensive index of such scandal-shrinking contains a myriad entries. Typical of them is the reaction of John Snyder III, communications manager for the Job Corps Center at Fort Custer, Michigan: Following a riot in Kalamazoo in which "job corps trainees were subdued by 100 policemen armed with riot guns and clubs," Snyder termed the melee "an incident," suggested the Kalamazoo police exaggerated their reports, and reduced the whole story to size by pointing out that whereas

there were seven-hundred trainees at the Camp, only ninety-six of them were in Kalamazoo on the weekend in question, and that of that number only twelve were arrested. By this line of reasoning one understands that the hundred policemen armed with riot guns and clubs were actually only a contingent of Boy Scouts out to earn their merit badges in riot quelling. One can but wonder how many policemen would have been required had all seven-hundred Job Corpsmen been able to make the scene.

The Job Corps Camps, ballyhooed as one of the major battlefronts, have been something of a caution; and perhaps this is as good a time as any to present them in recital. As long ago as last August, *Chicago Tribune* reporter Mary Pakenham revealed that "job corps incidents in recent months have included dismissal of both male and female trainees for drinking, disobedience, and violence." She reported that:

*At Camp Atterbury, Ind., seven boys were involved in a sexual attack on a fellow trainee. At Tongue Point, Ore., four boys made headlines when they got into a fist fight. Two boys from Camp Gary, in Texas, are accused of shooting two air force men in San Antonio. A girl was sent home from the Cleveland women's center after she pleaded guilty to a marijuana charge. The women's center in St. Petersburg, Florida, troubled perhaps more than any other by community hostility, has dismissed a number of girls for drinking and sexual escapades.*

The file on violence bulges like a bureaucrat's briefcase at a salary hearing. After the shooting in San Antonio, a news lid went on at Camp Gary, but stories were carried out by boys who fled to more peaceful surroundings.

There were reports of organized gangs within the Camp, food riots, destruction in rooms and latrines, and numerous other footnotes to violence. The dropout rate for the program, variously reported from thirteen to thirty percent, expresses a verdict all its own. Remember that each Job Corpsman costs the taxpayer \$6,000 per year, when tuition at the most expensive colleges in the country amounts to less than one-third of that amount. Remember too that each Job Corpsman is provided with room, board, medical care, a \$75



More Job Corps violence.

clothing allowance, and given monthly pay reaching \$105. It has to be pretty bad when boys, who supposedly were to have an opportunity for a new start in life, with all the bills paid and money in the pocket, leave the Camps in haste to go back to their old "poverty-stricken" environments. The list of outbreaks and criminal activities, reading on almost to the point of boredom, may give some idea of why the dropout rate is so high.

Boys in Oregon's Tongue Point Cen-

ter rioted with lead pipes. In Marion, Illinois, a breach of the peace resulted when Job Corpsmen invaded a roller skating rink primed with liquor. David E. Smith, Job Corpsman from Chicago, was killed in a knife fight in Austin, Texas. The August outbreak at Atterbury was followed by another in September, followed with calendared precision by what the *Richmond News Leader* politely described as "an unpleasant incident in an Indianapolis bus station" in October when two Atterbury Corpsmen were arrested. Police raided a Training Center near Poughkeepsie and arrested eight youths for possession of narcotics and deadly weapons. At a girls' Job Corps Center in Cleveland, four girls were expelled and a fifth arrested on narcotics charges. Of course, there may be some disagreement among Job Corps officials about the merit of narcotics, because officials of the New Bedford, Massachusetts, Job Corps center used Camp funds to bail a Corpsman out of jail after he was arrested on a narcotics charge. But then, why not? It was recently discovered that local judges in Redding, California, were sending convicts to the Training Camp near Redding as punishment.

The troubles at Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky, surely would dent the optimism of a Dr. Pangloss. The *Washington Post's* John J. Carmody visited the Job Corps Center at Camp Breckinridge early in August and presented a glowing picture to Washingtonians of the Camp administration's policy aimed at "defusing" possible racial tensions among the rural white and urban Negro enrollees. Hardly had the issue containing Mr. Carmody's love portrait been used to line the subscribers' wastebaskets when the Camp exploded in a series of eruptions, extending from Wednesday to Friday, involving almost five-hundred enrollees armed with belts, tire chains, and two-by-fours. Thirteen persons were hospitalized for

treatment of stab wounds and the effects of beatings.

The practice of the strong extracting payments from the weak for "protection" (against being "beat up" by the protectors) has flourished at a number of the Camps, including Breckinridge. It was necessary to call in the F.B.I. to break up such gangster activity at the Fort Custer Center. Camp Gary drop-outs reported the same type of gang procedure there.

Documentation for all these reports exists in fullest detail. Item: Congressman C. E. Goodell (R.-New York) is quoted in the February 10, 1966, *Congressional Record* (pp. 2719-2723) with an account of an enrollee at the Mountain Home, Idaho, Camp being severely beaten and slashed by a classmate who was acting as dormitory leader. The Congressman emphasized the fact that the assailant, Paul Dennis Jones, had a criminal record as a three-time felon, a detail which had not been discovered, apparently, by Camp authorities. The victim nearly died; the knife wielder, a parolee from the California correctional system, was protected by Corps authorities, inclusive of hiring an attorney at federal expense to defend him.

The listing of such incredible affairs goes on and on, provoking wonder at the type of mentality which would conceive and implement such activities under such circumstances. The full picture is one of boys and girls being siphoned up wholesale out of crime-breeding slums and concentrated in Camps and Work Centers, before the facilities were complete in many cases, and before adequate training programs were ready. Many of the enrollees carried criminal records which went undetected for want of an efficient screening system — or any at all. Of course, as the sophisticated generals of the Poor Corps will probably not tell you, there is the redeeming consideration that, had twice as many Camps been started with





Poor Corps Director Sargent Shriver (center) and a few of his highly paid aides.

ten times the enrollment and with only half as much preparation — a callout of the National Guard in every state might have been required to keep down the carnage.

What may be termed "bureau mentality" is reflected again in the problem of discipline for the Job Corps. Discipline, by definition, consists of a superior force able to command compliance, willing or unwilling as the case may be. In spite of the fact that Camp Atterbury had a staff numbering almost *two members per enrollee*, the superior force proved to reside in the willingness of the enrollees to resort to violence. The official line seems to be that too much disciplinary emphasis destroys the "campus atmosphere" for which Camp administrations are to strive. That too little disciplinary emphasis may, contrariwise, destroy the furniture and fixtures, not to mention the well-being of innocent individuals, goes unacknowledged by the command staff. Though one would think that by this time it would have begun to dawn on

policy makers that there is a difference between a Poor Corps Camp and a campus, and that the average college campus has not welcomed the type of youth who would push a classmate's face into a bowl of soup and "then stomp his face in" as described by one Breckinridge enrollee who witnessed that incident.

John Snyder III of the Fort Custer Center provides a wrap-up on the subject of discipline. He told a *Chicago Tribune* reporter: "We don't try to order these boys around. Other people have tried to order them around before and it hasn't worked."

So we have multi-million dollar Work Camps for hard-core cases, operating without discipline. The real need for disciplinary action would appear to be for the tax-paying public to come alive enough to get the picture and crack down on the army of altruistic despoilers running this horror show.

## II

PERHAPS some doubts still linger in



the reader's mind as to whether all is for the best in this best of all Great Society wars on poverty. The shortage, alas, isn't of abounding proof but of space for the telling. Keep in mind the account given thus far, along with a notation that it is costing an estimated \$5,000 to \$7,000 per pupil per year\* to mill out Poor Corps graduates — with no proof as yet that the young men and women who survive the experience will have learned enough to get and hold jobs, or that they will have been instilled with the necessary motivation and self-respect to do so. Then let us proceed to examine the poverty program on the basis of its sincerity and integrity.

Judge the sweep-ups from the lowest financial levels of our society as you will, it must be admitted that many have only been acting and reacting in the Camps and Centers in the same way they behaved in their home environments, doing what, for some of them, comes naturally. In most ways of looking at it, these "underprivileged" are less to be censured than many of the "overprivileged" who have planned the logistics and managed the maneuvering involved in spending all that money in the name of sweet charity. It is one thing to have jungle instincts from having been raised in a jungle, but it is quite another for those "to the manner born" to revert to jungle morality in dispensing public funds.

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\* A footnote on job training could be furnished by countless numbers of businessmen who, in years past, have trained millions of boys and girls to journeyman proficiency for diverse jobs and trades, and all at their own expense. It is both ironic and tragic that this same government which is pursuing such an aberrational and irrational course of action in seeking to wipe out poverty has, through enactment of minimum wage laws, derailed the functional and efficient no-cost-to-the-taxpayer training system natural to the free-market economy. The effect the minimum wage law has had in freezing the Negro into joblessness is an economic sidelight the bleeders in the "Civil Rights" movement would do well to ponder, also.

The rest of the record reveals the sorry spectacle of a crusading army, white-plumed of motive and armed with jawbones of the "Liberal" asses who dream up such socialistic escapades, leeching and foraging as they go forth to do battle with poverty.

In any charitable enterprise carried on within the private sector, it goes without saying that the intended beneficiaries of the program, and not the administrators thereof, receive the lion's share; either that or public support is withdrawn. And at so much as a hint of dishonesty those in charge are hauled before a judge to prove their innocence or be disgraced and put in jail. But with public agencies and public funds involved, the corrupting influence of political power has seen to it that only a trickle-down of the initial two billion dollars of War on Poverty funds has reached those for whose benefit the program was announced. Behind the humanitarian facade is an ugly story of political patronage, misappropriation and misuse of funds, gross incompetence, and out-and-out graft.

The first tip-off of the true nature of the Economic Opportunity Program was given when word began to circulate about the amounts of salaries being paid to staff workers. To paraphrase a famous remark anent another war, "Never was so much paid so many for so little." When it was announced that Generalissimo Shriver would hire fifty-four full-time aides at salaries ranging from \$18,935, to \$30,000 a year, there was speculation that the Shriver strategy in attacking poverty was going to be to awe it to death.

Some people steal for a living, and some give, and others accept exorbitant and unjustified salaries from the public purse. Which isn't to say that some of the workers were not worthy of their hire; but surely many of these were the ones who detected that the whole show was developing an odor like downwind

from a cattle feed lot and bowed out. Among those who saw and ran, according to the *Los Angeles Times News Service*, were many of the top men in the program: Richard Boone, a top Community Action Program aide; Deputy Director Jack Conway; Job Corps Director Otis Singletary; Inspector General William F. Haddad; and, Public Affairs Chief Holmes Brown, to mention but a few.

As with the account of coddled savagery in the Job Corps, the testimony on salaries is billion-dollar size and can only be sampled here to air out a little of its feed-lot aroma.

A Congressional Committee headed by someone other than Congressman Adam Clayton Powell would do their countrymen a favor just to compile a record of how much those on the O.E.O. payroll "earn" now as against the more honest measuring of their previous worth in the marketplace. One wonders how many cases like the one of Frederick McLendon, age thirty, would be discovered. Mr. McLendon pole-vaulted from a salary of \$8,700 a year to \$14,000 with the O.E.O. A review of the Poor Corps office he established before there was any work to do suggests a new meaning for O.E.O.: Overstaffed and Enormously Overpaid.

One New Jersey county received \$67,000 for poverty fighting and all but \$15,000 went for salaries. The *Newark News* carried the story of plans for a Legal Assistance Center, the function of which was to "aid the poor in legal matters." Total annual payroll for the Center was \$400,000 — including a \$15,000-a-year administrator, a \$12,000-a-year assistant, and fourteen attorneys at \$10,000-a-year. Salaries of \$10,000 were budgeted for a sociologist and psychologist. At least the poor will be able to enjoy the luxury of getting in and out of trouble and having their *ids* adjusted in Cadillac style.

A different twist on salaries was reported by Haynes Johnson of the *Washington Star*, following a sojourn in the depressed area of Breathitt County Kentucky. There the poverty program is tightly controlled by the political machine of Democratic Judge Ervine Turner. Deep sincerity is evidenced in the Turner formula. For instance unemployed fathers, in what is known there as the "Happy Pappy" program, are given a tax-free \$250 monthly, plus free medical care and below-cost foodstuffs. The recipients, so reporter Johnson tells, aren't about to leave Breathitt County to look for work elsewhere. And you can bet on it.

The Women's Job Corp program at St. Petersburg, Florida, was reported in the *Congressional Record* during July of 1965 as having a staff of 122, drawing a monthly payroll of \$55,424. Of course, there were only 237 students. And one of the staff members was a swimming instructor hired at a salary of \$8,160, another a lifeguard who was called a "water safety coordinator." The



Leaving another scene of Job Corps violence.

only thing missing in this setup was — a swimming pool. Another Training Center for girls was established in a Los Angeles hotel which was redone by the Job Corps to suitable luxury level for a mere \$100,000. The budget for the training project amounted to a mere two million dollars — \$7,000 per girl per year (less than the cost of education at Vassar).

Congressman E. Y. Berry (R.-South Carolina) pronounced it "a rich man's war," noting that "One out of every 19 employees in the Office of Economic Opportunity makes over \$19,000 per year." In the Defense Department the figure is one out of every thousand, and one for every five hundred in Agriculture. No wonder that Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) noted that: "On the basis of employees to top officials this is one of the lushest payrolls in the Government." Operation Headstart, for example, which was designed to give children from underprivileged homes a pre-kindergarten tutoring, pays nurse-school teachers at rates of \$8 to \$9 an hour, amounting to \$200 a week for work in day-care centers. The national average for such work is \$125 a week. Headstart Centers in the nation's capital may safely be assumed to be among the best run, because of their proximity to the Sargent. Yet, as a result of the awful administrative boondoggle, the cost there per child is \$1,411.11, which is \$61 more than the most expensive university in the Washington area and some \$600 more than the most expensive private kindergarten in that area.

From time to time, of course, "Liberal" voices have been speaking up in praise of the Poor Corps to counter some of the criticism. Representative Sam Gibbons (D.-Florida) proclaimed in the July twenty-sixth *Congressional Record* that "the consultants who have made financial sacrifices to work in the anti-poverty program are too numerous

to specify here. The list is long and impressive." He had a list. Two days later Congressman Albert H. Quie (R.-Minnesota) shed further light on Representative Gibbons' nominations for martyrdom. His breakdown revealed that, out of the 536 listed persons he checked, 395 received more from O.E.O. than from previous employment, with some increases running as high as fifty percent. Sacrifice is as sacrifice does, as the old saying has it.

Analyzing Sargent Shriver's own defense of the Poor Corps, "financial morality," Virginia R. Wilson noted in *Count Down\** for March, 1966:

*Mr. Shriver had cited Gum Springs [Virginia] as proof of NOT paying too exorbitant salaries — \$54,000 was allocated there for salaries of \$4,200 a year for each of "eight professionals" and \$1,600 per year for non-professionals who were recruited from Gum Springs "poor." An interested citizen in another state did a bit of research on his own. His findings were as follows: the Census Bureau does not list Gum Springs, Va., because it is too small to list; the Sheriff in Goochland, just south of Gum Springs, told this interested citizen that "it's just a wide spot in the road with a post office and a store and only 10 to 15 families within a mile or so." So the War on Poverty is spending \$33,500 a year on salaries for 8 "professionals" and \$20,400 for 12 "non-professionals" to wipe out the poverty in a community of about 40 people!*

Again, the demoralizing recitation reels on and on. High hopes were held out for a Poor Corps project called V.I.S.T.A., which translates to Volunteers in Service to America. ("Ask not,

\* \$1.00 per year from P.O. Box 8153, Munger Station; Wichita, Kansas 67208.



etc. . .," you know.) But young America did not flock to the banner as it did to the Peace Corps. As of June 30, 1965, some \$3.1 million had been spent by V.I.S.T.A. officials to train only 202 volunteers, which makes for high-priced volunteering. Officials made a budget request of \$24 million for the 1966 recruiting effort, which request was cut to \$17.5 million. The cost of soliciting volunteers obviously escaped the Presidential guidelines for holding the line on inflation. It will never occur to the bureau-mind but, of course, it just might be that young people are smart enough not to volunteer for work in a program where everyone else is making fabulous salaries for just, as the climber said about the mountain, "being there."

There is hardly a facet of our society which the Poverty War doesn't touch, and anyone who undertakes to assess the overall picture and draw conclusions will quickly come to feel that he is fighting a swarm of hornets. The widest and most raucous influence is naturally the political power structure, since the War on Poverty's lovely flow of federal funds traverses through mainstream political channels into countless tributaries of influence and on into the ward diversions and precinct irrigation ditches. On and on the money flows, into state and city governments, urban and rural activities, the world of business — including agriculture — education, our churches, labor unions, the "Civil Rights" movement, and clear on through to the ideological revolution and into some of its more sinister sinkholes.

High-priced "consultants" have been hired wholesale, almost bespeaking a note of desperation, to get the Poor Corps budget spent before someone comes up with a reminder that the taxpayers had been promised that their "hard-earned" was to be spent to turn the "poor" into taxpayers—a transforma-



Congressman Adam Clayton Powell

tion the benefits of which might be subject to question under the circumstances.

The matter of journalism ethics and objective reporting comes to mind along with information that a number of the Fourth Estate's finest did some well-paid moonlighting for the O.E.O. Mrs. Mary Conway Kohler was tweaked by Fulton Lewis Jr. for her feat in being retained as a "highly paid consultant" by a number of governmental agencies, to which number she added the O.E.O. New York City's Poverty Operation Board needed her advice so urgently it put her on the payroll at \$500 a week. And again, with a volume available, a sampling must suffice.

When Mr. Shriver, the Sergeant-of-all-the-Armies, appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the House to ask for his political allowance for another year he waxed poetical with a quote of a saintly saying, "Before you go out and help the poor, you must first beg their pardon." And he went on to add that the American nation is so guilty of the existence of poverty



that we should be "humbling and prostrating ourselves before our Creator" in a "national act of expiation."

Only the extreme stage of apathy currently holding the American public in its grip prevented a nationwide epidemic of nausea.

### III

IN THIS account, I have been able to touch upon only a few of the major aspects of the Poor Corps program. Still to be related are the matters of influence in the field of education, the ennobling story of the well-to-do who put their children on the poverty payrolls, the political power struggle wherein several grabs are being made from different quarters for the coalescing vote blocs in the slum areas, activity in the big cities and the merry mix-up over the "participation-by-the-poor" clause in the O.E.O. Act, the yet more grandiose proposals begging adoption (such as a camp for married couples), the ideological aspects, instances of citizen resistance, and so forth.

All this will have to follow in another chapter — all this, plus the measuring for martyrdom of the Congressman who ranks second in command to Sargent Shriver, the saintly figure of that simple parish priest from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell. The saga of Harlem's anti-poverty agency, HARYOUACT, its weird bookkeeping, its hate-based youth programs, the mystery of the missing \$400,000 — here is meat for a Gibbon bringing his *Decline and Fall* up to date.

To bring *this* accounting up to date now, let it be noted that Congressman Powell was one of the first to detect the political overtones of the War on Poverty with the charge that "Giant fiestas of political patronage have been

encouraged." His attitude underwent a transformation as the months and money went by, with generous portions of the swag detouring into the Harlem enterprise, under his fatherly control. Later he conveniently emerged in the role of defender of the taxpayers and his House Education and Labor Committee was extended the sum of \$230,000 to conduct an investigation of the charges of graft and corruption in the Poor Corps. The Committee, with most of its money spent for salaries, has at this writing yet to report a single finding.

The Chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Congressman Powell, did give a report, however. It was reported from New York on February twenty-eighth that the Harlem Democrat defended the O.E.O. program and reported that "The Office of Economic Opportunity comes out smelling not of scandals, but of the sweet smell of success." And he lectured all those Americans who have dared to criticize "a misplaced penny here or an unrecorded dollar (\$400,000?) there," reminding them that "The scandals in the war on poverty in reality are the scandals of America . . . the nine million families who earn less than \$3,000 a year . . . those are the scandals that should scorch our souls," he said.

Against which sweeping indictment, and to bring this chapter to a close, one is reminded of the story, told by Colorado's Senator Gordon Allott, of a conversation between two eight-year-olds:

First eight-year-old: "What's a Poverty War?"

Second eight-year-old: "Oh, that's a battle between the poor people and the politicians — but the politicians always win. ■ ■

## CRACKER BARREL

■ EAGLE ROCK—One thing is certain. When all is said and done about what Bob Kennedy thinks about Vietnam—then there's a lot to be said that's true.  
1966 Dwight Claer Associates

—JACK MOFFITT

# MOONSTRUCK

## Soft Landing Or Soft Heads?

Medford Evans, a former college professor and once Administrative officer on the U.S. atomic energy project (1944-1952), holds his Doctoral degree from Yale University but considers himself a Southerner—which he is by birth and conviction. Dr. Evans' work has appeared in Harper's, Swannee Review, Human Events, National Review, The Citizen, and elsewhere.



*It is the very error of the moon;  
She comes more near the earth than  
she was wont,  
And makes men mad.*

—OTHELLO, V, ii. 109-111.

■ THE FIRST week-end in February, 1966, the moon came some twenty thousand miles closer to Earth than usual—with results as predicted by Shakespeare. The *New York Times* went mad, the *Herald Tribune* went mad, *Time* and *Newsweek* went mad. Television was out of its mind. And, of course, maddest of all were the English. ("He that is mad, and sent into England . . . 'Twill not be seen in him there; there the men are as mad as he." *Hamlet*, V, i, 162-171.)

It was Sir Bernard Lovell to whom all turned as King of Misrule on this scientific and intellectual Mardi Gras. Though the Russians, who are always mad, attacked him, he firmly supported them. Of all the sycophants who bur-

lesqued science by rushing to laud the "Soviet achievement" announced from Moscow's disinformation center, T.A.S.S., Lovell is the most important, for the Jodrell Bank Radio Astronomy Laboratories of which he is Director operate the world's largest radio telescope, and have for some years enjoyed unique prestige as (quite unofficially and in fact, it appears, spuriously) the One Great Umpire that writes against the names of international astronauts whether they won or lost—but not how they played the game!

Jodrell Bank has, since *Sputnik I* in October of 1957, confirmed every Soviet space claim, which fact in the minds of simple literates has put such claims beyond dispute. What distinguished Jodrell Bank's service to Moscow on the occasion of the *Luna 9* episode was that the English were ahead of the Russians in documenting Russian claims—with pictures! That did not leave skeptics much ground to stand on, now did it?

The English are clever at this sort of thing. I recall visiting Dover Castle as a young tourist many years ago, and being shown Sir Gawain's skull. The guide told us, "If you don't believe this really is Sir Gawain's skull, we can prove it, for there is the split in it made when Sir Lancelot hit him over the head with his sword." Pretty conclusive. Like those photographs of mouldy cheese, frayed sponge, or Kosygin's acne scars emblazoned so triumphantly in the Sunday papers of February sixth as the surface of the moon.

The world premiere of this telemetric extravaganza was an exhibition over

British television, Friday evening February fourth, in an interview with that Bayard of scientific chivalry, Sir Bernard of Jodrell Bank. Two pictures were shown. One of them revealed, said the knight (my source is the *New York Times* of February fifth, p. 10), that the moon's surface is not covered by a thick layer of dust. The photographed surface looked "more like pumice stone." (Maybe it was pumice stone.) The clearest photograph, according to the *Times*, "showed rock-like pinnacles that Sir Bernard estimated to be about 10 to 20 feet tall, as well as the curved horizon of the moon." But giving these dimensions was an unhappy act of specification. As quickly appeared.

The pictures shown on television had been produced at Jodrell Bank—aptly enough, in the "satellite room"—on a radio-photo processing machine lent by the *London Daily Express*, and operated, it seems, by technicians from that learned journal. *New York Times* inquit:

*Technicians from the Daily Express realized that they were getting a picture and Sir Bernard was called out of a meeting. He and his colleagues excitedly passed the print from hand to hand. The small room at the foot of the telescope was soon crowded with technicians.*

Sir Bernard exclaimed of the first picture:

*"Amazing. It's fantastic. The quality is terrific."*

*The quality of the later pictures improved, and as Sir Bernard waved the last one aloft, he declared:*

*"A most wonderful picture. Wonderful."*

Everyone agreed they were Lovell-y.

Except Moscow. The master is never indebted to the slave for anything. Moscow keeps the power relationship straight. British Bernard was rebuked

by the Bolshevik brass, specifically by an old buzzard named Blagonravov (A.A.—not what you are thinking; the letters stand for Anatoli Arkadyevich).

This preposterous "space scientist"—actually an aging artillery officer whose credentials as an intellectual are patently as phony as a three-dollar bill (see *Current Biography*, 1958)—"chided" the learned Lovell (who, whatever else he may be, is an authentic academic) for prematurely publishing the pictures without "the information necessary for correct reproduction of the image." The Russian said Jodrell Bank had compressed the horizontal scale of the photographs two-and-a-half times, distorting objects by making them look too tall and thin. (The *Daily Express* had probably sent their fashion editor up to Jodrell.)

"Apparently," said Blagonravov, "some motives of a sensational nature played a role in this case."

Then this *miles gloriosus* turned "academician" had the incredible gall to continue: "The most important thing in the interests of science is the trustworthiness of facts; the Soviet scientists were guided precisely by these considerations in carrying out such exceptionally important and responsible experiments."

I hope Sir Bernard likes having his nose rubbed in such nonsense, for if he does not there is nothing he can do about it. He did indeed, as he has done before, rush into print and camera range without possibly having had time for that process of critical evaluation which in the scientific method determines what should be regarded as "facts." The ironic "fact" that he evidently did so precisely because of some obsequious anxiety to please the censors in the Kremlin merely deprives him of any defense when they lash him for fawning.

Had Sir Bernard Lovell taken his stand on facts, or on the integrity of scientific method which gives us our



best approximation to facts, he might dispute with Moscow—and from such a dispute much clarification might result. But committed as he is, not so much to accurate images of the moon's surface as to a prestigious image of "Soviet science," he must let the vapid but virile Blagonravov have the last words on the "facts," while his own last word is that of Browning's woman:

*What so false as truth is,  
False to thee?  
Where the serpent's tooth is,  
Shun the tree.  
Where the apple reddens,  
Never pry,  
Lest we lose our Edens,  
Eve and I.*

# I

INTRINSICALLY, the question whether the Russians did or did not effect a "soft landing" on the moon is less important than the closely related question: Do the Free World's intelligentsia have soft heads? Let us approach this matter in the somewhat more gingerly and roundabout way that such a tender subject deserves.

It would be utterly absurd for an astronomical layman like me to debate with Dr. Lovell on any point within the field of radio astronomy or related sciences. I shall, of course, undertake no such debate. But the same practical judgment that identifies the area where I should not have the temerity to step is capable of recognizing also when Dr. Lovell steps out of it, or when he violates principles that are common to all the arts and sciences.

Whether any announcement of anything by T.A.S.S. enhances or diminishes the credibility of the thing announced is a consideration not in the field of radio astronomy but of political history, and Sir Bernard obviously can claim no special expertise there, though he is of course not precluded from hav-



Sir Bernard of Jodrell

ing a layman's opinion. I think his opinion—as implied by the respect with which he treats Moscow's announcements, even when he finds them "surprising," as he sometimes does—is peculiarly frivolous, in view of the abundance of evidence that T.A.S.S. is not even interested in, much less committed to, objective truth. Truth, for T.A.S.S., is the Party Line.

The whole issue was rather exhaustively set forth some years ago by a British scientist of considerably greater fame than Sir Bernard, and of equally pronounced inclination toward some sort of brave new world—the eminent Julian Huxley, elder brother of Aldous, grandson of Thomas Henry, collaborator with H. G. Wells, director of U.N.E.S.C.O., and all that kind of stuff.

In 1949 the London firm of Chatto and Windus published a book by the aforesaid Julian Huxley, entitled *Soviet Genetics and World Science*. In those pre-sputnik days it was still permissible to challenge the validity of alleged Soviet scientific discoveries; and numer-



ous "Liberals," in accordance with their proclaimed traditional attitude of tolerant skepticism, did just that. Particularly did the majority of Western biologists challenge the claims issued by one Trofim Lysenko concerning mutations induced in wheat by management of the environment. (Of course the marvelous ability of Soviet science to accomplish what it will with wheat, *etc.* is the reason why their agriculture is so abundantly successful that they did not need to keep that great agronomist of the new lands — Nikita Khrushchev — around any longer.) Out of the controversy over Lysenko's claims—a controversy rather quickly and quite forcibly settled in Soviet Russia—there developed an eventual rejection by Communism of "Mendelian-Morganism," as they called what is known in the West as the science of genetics, and the establishment of an environmentalist doctrine known as "Michurinism." (So essential is personal authority in a Communist system that all their "isms" are based on personal names.)

This is certainly not the place, nor am I the one, to go into the details of the Lysenko controversy. Julian Huxley does so thoroughly, and, one may be forgiven for supposing, competently. He summarizes much in the following:

*... central to the issue is the appeal to doctrine and authority instead of observational and experimental verification. As a result a basic effect of the controversy has been to establish, in the fields of genetics and evolution, a scientific orthodoxy, which in its turn is related to and dependent upon a philosophical orthodoxy. And the philosophical orthodoxy is, of course linked with the social and political orthodoxy of Communism, and the authority of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. The upshot is that science in the U.S.S.R. must now do*

*its work in a totally different atmosphere, and on totally different foundations, from those in other countries. (p. 47)*

Coming as it did at the very time when "Liberal" Russophiles were daily chanting that "the atom knows no national boundaries"—because, one was to infer, of the universality of science—the "totally different" bases which Huxley discerned through the mists of the Lysenko controversy were highly disturbing to the psyche of the Western Left.

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (B.A.S.)* began cautiously to explore the possibility of whether Western scientists could be induced to accept consciously and openly the "diamat" (dialectical materialism) as the basis of their own thinking. Perhaps if unity could not be preserved by persuading the Kremlin to follow the groves of academe, the double-domed denizens of the groves could be double-talked into double-thinking along with the Kremlin. In superficial form the *B.A.S.* never got very far with this, but in substance, by blending thoroughly with Pugwash, it has maintained the desired unity.

So much so that Soviet procedures which Huxley and others deplored in the field of genetics are now accepted with scarcely a murmur in the case of astronautics and space. In 1949 Huxley could condemn out of hand "the unscientific procedure of . . . not publishing results in an adequate way." (p. 227) The essence of scientific method, it was agreed in the West, consisted of: (1) a disinterested search for knowledge and understanding, (2) the tireless use of hypothesis, experiment, and verification, (3) the publication of results in such a full and exact way that whoever would might repeat the experiment and compare his own results.

The Soviet Union's contemptuous rejection of this third element is by now

so notorious that the West has ceased to expect it. As a U. S. space official told the *Associated Press* (he asked that he not be identified), "... one big problem for us is the exchange of data. If past experience is any criteria [*sic*], we will not get very much material" (quoted from the *Mobile Register*, February 7, 1966).

And the West has ceased to demand it. And has substituted its own patient acceptance of "the authority of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R."

The intellectual coexistence is such that our scientists now say in effect to the Russians: O.K., you follow your method and we'll follow ours. We'll accept your method for you, and you accept our method for us. That is, we will believe what your political boss says without documentation and proof, while you will continue to demand of us the most explicit and abundant proof.

Western science—and *science*, as the term is ordinarily used, is a Western development—presupposes that facts speak for themselves, and with unique authority. Acceptable theories must take all the facts into account. If an undoubted fact does not fit a theory, then the theory is invalid. Truths—except those divinely revealed; which are considered extrascientific—are either (1) self-evident, axiomatic, or (2) depend on a chain of logic extending to something that is self-evident.

If no truths are self-evident, and/or if there is no chain of logic, then truth is simply an aspect of power. The celebrated conflict between Galileo and representatives of the Church is the classical example. Ecclesiastical authority could compel the astronomer to deny what he had seen through his telescope. But the last (whispered) word was: *It still moves*.

In the Soviet Union truth is conformity to the Party Line; history is "politics projected backward"; science is activity which is useful to the Party's

advance. Huxley cites a Russian scientist: "Dimitriev condemns all scientific work (in genetics) which does not assist practical agriculture, and criticizes Schmalhausen and others 'for expressing views incompatible with progressive improvement in agriculture.' [Apparently, he regards it as irrelevant whether the views happen to be true or not.]" (p. 46.)

It is, of course, the Communist Party which decides not only which scientific work shall be undertaken and which results sought, but also what results *have been obtained, and how they shall be publicized*. For the ensuing publicity may be of more usefulness to the Bolshevik Party than the work itself. And under the Red regime, whatever the Party says is, by definition, true.

The great issue posed anew by Soviet space claims is not, *Did they do this or that?* The issue—and civilization or barbarism depends on the outcome—is: *Will Western science adhere to its own principles, or will it yield to authoritarianism?*



Hi-diddle-diddle . . .



The Soviet Union has never at any time provided documentation of its extravagant claims in either nuclear or space technology. Actually, since established procedures of documentation are of Western origin, to provide the usual scientific documentation would be a concession to Western imperialism which the Bolsheviks would never make, even if they had the documentation, which they don't.

On the other hand, to dispense with the usual documentation is a surrender to Bolshevik power which Sir Bernard Lovell and other Western scientists seem glad to make. Surrender is the right word, for these scientists must know what they are doing when they accept claims from Moscow without the supporting documentation which they would demand from anybody else.

It is Julian Huxley who says—and Western scientists generally know what Julian Huxley says:

*In the U.S.S.R., as is now common knowledge, thought and expression have been to a greater or lesser extent compulsorily socialized — subordinated to an over-riding social philosophy and subjected to State (political) control, so that its freedom or autonomy is consciously and expressly restricted.*

Western scientists nowadays not only fail to protest the total denial of academic freedom under the Bolsheviks. Our scientists, in flagrant violation of scientific skepticism, hasten to endorse claims from the Kremlin that are patently spurious.

Sensing, however, that enthusiasm alone is not enough, Sir Bernard and others attempt to supply the missing documentation themselves. When the attempt proves from the scientific point of view embarrassingly inadequate, they fall back on authority. They depend on Bolshevik authority for their own con-

viction, and on their own authority (gained previously through success with scientific method) to convince the general public.

Science subserves politics, says Moscow. Sir Bernard Lovell follows Moscow, and—in crediting lunar myths, etc.—other scientists follow Lovell, with his giant radiotelescope at Jodrell Bank, the Delphic signals of which *he* interprets. The general public, without access to whatever facts may exist, feels naturally enough that it has no choice but to follow the scientists. Thus Moscow triumphs.

## II

SNOBBISH Americans may not realize that titles of knighthood and nobility no longer necessarily mean anything socially in England. Of course, they may mean much socialistically. The socialists set out to stultify all such indicia of aristocracy by conferring them not simply on the undeserving, but conspicuously on many who virulently detest the original basis of the distinction. It would be unendurably presumptuous of me to assert that Alfred Charles Bernard Lovell is one of those knights of Fabian Britain who have about as much connection with chivalry as the average Kentucky Colonel has with the military, or as Martin Luther King has with Peace. There are, nevertheless, three reasons to suppose that Lovell is, shall we say, no reactionary of the old-school-tie type.

In the first place, he didn't go to an old school. There isn't a reason in the world why he shouldn't have gone to Kingswood Grammar School, as he did, nor, if that was what he wanted to do, to Bristol University, where in 1936 he got his *Ph.D.* But these institutions, however estimable, are not Eton and Oxford, and—let's face it—the *Ph.D.* is not really English. A man who will take such a degree must have a Teutonic streak in him—or American.

SUPPORT YOUR



LOCAL POLICE

They need it. And we certainly need for them to have it. The Communists know, as the American people do not, that the city and community police forces now constitute one of the most important remaining obstacles to the gradual, insidious, and at first invisible, establishment of the mechanics of their Communist tyranny.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's booklet, A Communist Plot Against The Free World Police, said: "Our police are among the foremost guardians of freedom and thus a major target of the Communists." In testimony about Communist efforts to destroy the police in other countries the booklet said: "A smear campaign attempted to discredit the leaders among the rank and file... the Communist press specializes in playing up and discrediting all police action against rioters and mobs."

There has been a subtle, but now increasingly bolder and more extensive effort, to harass and discredit local police forces and their individual officials or members, going on in our own country for more than a decade. The Communist drive to destroy respect for, and the value, strength, and morale of our local police forces, has two parallel but separate major purposes.

(1) Communist-run riots, which increasingly terrorize peaceful citizens into a resigned acquiescence, and which can be made more terrible, more widespread, and gradually coalesced into the semblance of a civil war, are an essential part of the over-all Communist program. But these riots could easily be nipped in the bud by the local police, and could never get out of hand enough to serve ultimate Communist purposes, if the police were not handicapped, demoralized, and neutralized by a certainty that: (a) they will be accused of "police brutality" without the slightest regard to how they actually handle themselves; (b) even in the midst of battle with hoodlums and murderers they will be restricted by regulations imposed as a result of Communist-inspired criticisms and falsehoods; and (c), in many areas some of them will later be hauled before civilian review boards, no matter how they act. So the Communists, and their dupes and sympathizers, never let up in their stream of lies about the local police.

(2) The members of local police forces cannot be counted on by the Communists, in the long run, when the Communists are consolidating the power of their central government, to carry out Communist-ordered arrests, atrocities, and terror against their friends and neighbors. So the Communists must find means and excuses to replace these local guardians of person and property with their own type of "police" -- like de Gaulle's "barbouzes," or the "federal marshals" used in Mississippi -- who



have no community roots and loyalties, and who are controlled entirely from Washington. This is why the Communist press (such as The Worker) howls at every opportunity for the Attorney General to "displace the local police regimes with federal police authority." And this is why the Communists never let up in their efforts, by every conceivable kind of falsehood, propaganda, and pressure, to undermine and destroy the local police forces of our nation.

Among the more carefully plotted schemes for harassing the police, discrediting individual policemen, and discouraging all those who might want to do their duty, has been the setting up of these Police Review Boards to which we have already referred, and to which many gullible do-gooders and bleeding hearts have been giving support. The chief function of these boards, in practice anyway if not in theory, is to make every individual police officer scared to death, as to every action he takes even in dealing with vicious criminals in emergency situations, of being called before some board weeks or months later, and condemned with loss of pay or maybe loss of job, for having been too unkind to the poor wayward unfortunates who were about to shoot him in the back, or stamp in his face, when he tried to interfere with their waywardness.

In the January 1, 1965 Law Enforcement Bulletin, in regard to these Review Boards, J. Edgar Hoover wrote: "When carefully considered, it is clear this drive for external boards is an ill-advised maneuver. It amounts to the usurpation of authority rightfully belonging to the police commander. It is a practice which could damage effective law enforcement and reduce the orderly processes of community life to petty bickering, suspicion, and hatred."

Support of your local police is going to become steadily more important during the months and years immediately ahead. We suggest the following specific steps to make that support more effective: (a) Oppose the formation or continuance of police review boards; (b) oppose every instance or suggestion of substituting federal marshals or federal soldiers or federal officers of any kind for local police; (c) when you come across questionable criticism of your local police or of some individual policeman, learn the facts and, if the criticism is unjustified, help to set the record straight; and (d) distribute as widely as possible these flyers and other materials which will bring more patriotic Americans actively into this campaign to Support Your Local Police.

These sheets are available, postpaid, at the following prices: 1 to 999, one dollar per hundred; 1M to 9M, \$8.00 per thousand; 10M to 99M, \$7.00 per thousand; 100M or more, \$6.00 per thousand. The attractive blue and white emblem on the reverse side is also available as a 3 1/4" x 3 1/4" gummed sticker, in any quantity, at 50 for \$1.00, postage paid. Order from

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Seriously, Dr. Sir Bernard Lovell has in his record an association problem. At least I think it's a problem, and so would most other Rightwing Extremists. Lovell was closely associated with a prominent Leftwing Extremist—and this at a crucial period in his life. After getting his doctorate he was appointed assistant lecturer in physics at Manchester University. One year later, in 1937, there came to Manchester as Langworthy Professor of Physics the (celebrated, notorious—check one) Patrick Maynard Stuart Blackett. Alfred Charles Bernard Lovell was at once named his assistant.

P.M.S. Blackett is red as a rose. He was one of the egregious few among even the socialists in Britain who supported the Lysenko side of the genetics controversy. Blackett was a "prominent member" (the phrase is from *Current Biography*, 1949) of the British Association of Scientific Workers, a transparently Communistic organization. For years Blackett shocked even the "Liberals" by the extent of his pro-Stalinism. Besides hewing to the Party Line in the Lysenko matter, he published a book in 1948 (the same year he got the Nobel Prize in physics) entitled in England *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy* and in America *Fear, War and the Bomb*. This work was so completely pro-Soviet (and again on issues where, at the time, the majority of "Liberals" were not so) that Andrei Vishinsky used it in debates in the United Nations to support the Russian position.

Reviewing *Fear, War and the Bomb*, Professor Edward A. Shils, no McCarthyite, wrote in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for May 1949: "Blackett writes from the Stalinist standpoint. All his main conclusions and premises are those which are found in the pamphlets of ordinary Communist propagandists. . . ." But, adds Professor Shils, "Professor Blackett is a master of artful

and intelligent distortion . . . and his keen mind discerns significant issues and presents serious arguments where less skillful Stalinist writers are merely blindly and unreasoningly aggressive." Shils concludes by labeling Blackett's book a "gift to Soviet propaganda" and declares that it "states a defense for the Soviet Union . . . much better than any Soviet delegate has ever stated it."

It is important to remember that Shils is one of those "Liberals" who undertakes to distinguish himself from the Communists. And it is important to remember that Blackett, who makes no such effort, selected Bernard Lovell as his assistant at a crucial time in each of their lives.

The cited issue of *B.A.S.* also published a translation of passages from a review which had appeared in *Pravda* on November 22, 1948, summarizing and endorsing Blackett's book. The Russian Communist reviewer concludes:

*Blackett's book contains erroneous opinions which show the influence of various prejudices, but these deficiencies cannot obscure its essential virtues. His pronouncements and those of certain other English scientists . . . are witness to the fact that the position of the Soviet Union [in the U.N.] . . . alone answers the interests of peace and security.*

Note that Moscow keeps the whip hand of admonition, but pats the boy on the head for having, on the whole, served them well. Did Lovell learn from Blackett how to establish such a relationship? He drew a sharper rebuke for his publication of the "distorted" moon pictures, though (because?) he had done the Soviet Union greater service than Blackett ever did by publishing any pictures at all. (Basically, it was the same service. Blackett "debunked" American nuclear power. Lovell estab-

lished Soviet rocket reputation.)

Of course, the rebuke was nine-tenths phony—part of the gambit that Dr. William C. (*Let Freedom Ring!*) Douglass calls "praise by faint damnation." In arguing with Lovell over the scale of the pictures, Moscow by-passed the question whether the pictures were taken on the moon at all. In addition, it became a sort of anti-Communist virtue to support poor brilliant generous Doctor Lovell against those nasty men in the Kremlin who said he didn't do their moonchild photographic justice. Why, if it weren't for wise skillful Doctor Lovell we wouldn't even know those Russians had put their old *Luna 9* up there, would we? And we do know that, don't we?

Q.E.D.

By the way, if you want to plumb the depths of the looking-glass world, get your copy of the *New York Times* for February fourth (last)—you won't believe this unless you are looking at it—and in the big story on the soft landing you will see an oddly sane-appearing subhead, which reads: "Confirmation Lacking." You know what it means? It means *Moscow had not confirmed a report from Britain!* For a minute I thought the *New York Times* had done an anti-Shadwell and deviated into sense. But I should have known. The *Times* would never intentionally imply that there was a shade of a hint of a suggestion that an announcement from Moscow on space or atoms lacked or needed any confirmation whatsoever. To raise the question of confirmation is to be a Rightwing Extremist if not a dangerous paranoid. We give you one of them lobotomies, boy, you believe anything.

It hasn't quite come to that yet. While neither the *New York Times* nor the Bolsheviks in the Kremlin admit that Moscow needs support from a non-Russian like Bernard Lovell, yet as a matter of fact, in order to gain credence

abroad for their space yarns, they do need such support, and from Lovell they get it, and the *Times* and the *Trib* and *Pravda* and *T.A.S.S.*, and the others, each in his own way, always play it up big.

Who controls Jodrell Bank controls the record of space achievement. Who controls the record of space achievement controls international prestige. Who controls international prestige controls the world.

Well, who *does* control Jodrell Bank?

P.M.S. Blackett's boy Bernard Lovell, that's who! And don't you forget it!

### III

BUT Sir Bernard is on shaky ground—threatened, objectively, on two sides. On the one hand, if he keeps giving bad checks to the Western world in favor of Communist Russia, technically trained personnel who know the inadequacy of his verifiable observations will begin to lose professional respect for him, in spite of his accumulation of a considerable reserve in that area. On the other hand, he will simultaneously find his position within the political Left threatened with usurpation by political carnivores such as nonscientists Blagonravov and Edward C. Welsh. A man who does not respect scientific method enough to refrain from the kind of jubilant hosannas Sir Bernard has uttered on every cue of the baton from Moscow cannot expect science indefinitely to protect him.

### IV

JUST AS I wrote the above—on the first day of March 1966—the phone rang and I was called to a meeting downtown. On the way, I heard on the car radio that the Russians had crash-landed a satellite on Venus. Nothing surprising about that. Anything a typewriter can spell they can land a satellite on it. What was surprising was a statement that Sir Bernard Lovell was not



satisfied with the Russians' proof of their claim! I nearly wrecked the car. A flood of thoughts: Tear up this article. Welcome Sir Bernard to the fold of Soviet-space-claim-debunkers. Put him in charge! There is more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over many righteous. And what a sinner! A real astronomical expert and a veteran Party Liner! Man, we're gonna get this ole counter-revolution in high gear now!

Second thoughts: Take it easy. More joy in Heaven, yes. But Heaven knows whether he has really repented! This is not Heaven. The radio continues: Sir Bernard is not satisfied *because Jodrell Bank had not received all the signals* which might have been expected from such an exploit as the Russians announced! On some of the *Luna* and *Lunik* shots when Jodrell Bank was the *only* station that *did* receive signals—that was O.K. Sir Bernard, it is evident, retracts none of his former support of the Big Red Lie. And this appearance of critical detachment serves to enhance the value of that former support. As those stories of Russian Cosmonauts who failed served to validate the pretense that Gagarin succeeded. Likewise with official announcements of lunar probes that failed. A different kind of "fail-safe."

Perhaps what is really at stake is Jodrell Bank's *ipse dixit*. Lovell strikes back at Blagonravov. In that case, I'm with Bernard. Though a more logical attitude might be that of the pioneer wife when the bear attacked her husband: *Go it, husband! Go it, bear!*

No, really, Lovell is the underdog. Now it is March second. The *Associated Press* story in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* has a straight lead: "The Soviet Union on Monday added to its list of spectacular firsts by landing a satellite on Venus after a 3½ month flight, the Soviet news agency Tass announced." The story continues in the same "factual" vein, and is illustrated by a dia-

gram of the solar system, showing the path of *Venus 3*, the alleged Russian space vehicle. In the Jackson paper *not a word about Sir Bernard Lovell*, and no suggestion that anybody had any doubts as to the validity of the Bolshevik claim.

The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* carries a longer story by *U.P.I.* The *fifth* paragraph reads: "Dr. Bernard Lovell of Britain's Jodrell Bank Laboratory raised doubts about whether *Venus 3* hit its target, although United States experts voiced no such doubts. 'It is to be hoped the Russians will give fuller scientific evidence in support of their conclusion that impact occurred,' Lovell said." (Amen, brother!)

Welsh is gonna bump him! (We briefed you on Stu Symington's and Lyndon's boy Ed Welsh in the March AMERICAN OPINION.) The *fourth* paragraph of the *U.P.I.* story reads: "In Washington, Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council—a presidential advisory group, described the *Venus* landing as 'another spectacular payoff for Russia's intensive efforts to explore the moon and the planets.'"

Welsh and Blagonravov don't *need* Lovell any more! Or so they think.

Lovell's reservations about *Venus 3* actually relate to an idea he had several years ago. The *U.P.I.* report of March second reads: "There was some concern expressed over whether the Russians sterilized *Venus 3* before sending it on a collision course with the planet. If they did not they could have contaminated *Venus* with microbes from Earth."

That "concern" was expressed in 1963 at some length by (you ready?) none other than Dr. Lovell in his book *The Exploration of Outer Space* (Harper). He said it was a matter of "cosmic ethics." The Soviet crash landing on the moon September 13, 1959, with *Lunik II* suggested the problem, he said, though the practical consequences of



that would be minimal because of the aridity of the moon. But . . . :

*The impact of a terrestrial rocket on Mars or Venus, in the manner of Lunik II on the moon, would certainly be an unmitigated scientific and moral disaster: a scientific disaster because the rocket could carry to the planet earthly organisms and thereby severely handicap future biological work, and a moral disaster because man will have presumed the right to inject his own contaminated material into an extraterrestrial environment where organic evolution may well be in progress. (p. 80)*

So when Bernard Lovell in 1966 expresses doubt that the Soviet Union has landed an object on Venus, he is expressing doubt that something happened which on the record he has been hoping would not happen. He would be real disappointed in the Soviet Union if it did a thing like that.

But let Lovell be reassured. The resources of high fantasy are illimitable. *U.P.I.*, having introduced the subject of possible venereal contamination (interplanetary division), continues: "Dr. Edgar M. Cortright, the Federal space agency's deputy associate administrator for space science and applications [how's that for bureaucratese?], said Soviet technology must be far more advanced than expected if the Russians were able to sterilize the entire spacecraft adequately."

Now back up and trace the flight of fancy: (1) there was concern *over whether* the Russians had sterilized *Venus 3*, (2) *if they did not* they could have contaminated Venus, (3) Soviet technology *must be* far more advanced than expected if they did adequately sterilize *Venus 3*. So out of a doubt we have new proof of Soviet achievement—a breakthrough in sanitation as well as rocket power, guidance, and com-

munication. What marvels one can deduce from the doctrine of Communist infallibility! They could not have done thus and so because it involves something bad. But they say they did! Then they have found a way to avoid what is bad. But that would be very difficult! Yes, their powers are even more wonderful than we had realized.

Perhaps Bernard Lovell is not ready to go so far as newer types of "scientists." Apparently Lovell is able to conceive the idea: *Soviet Union wrong*. And that ability will probably prove fatal to his future in the media, even though on every particular occasion he may deny that the Soviet Union is wrong. *To judge in favor of Communism is not enough. You must recognize that Communism, not you, does the judging.*

Lovell has hardly begun—and if he has begun it must be very hard—to purge himself of complicity in the Big Red Lie. Unretracted are flat statements such as: "Lunik III was launched [in October 1959] in an orbit around the moon and transmitted photographs of the hidden side to earth—an entirely justifiable and wonderfully executed scientific feat." (*Exploration of Outer Space*, Harper, 1963, p. 79.) That in the face of evidence adduced by Lloyd Mallan, and never refuted, that the "photographs of the hidden side of the moon" were not photographs at all, but paintings in which experts could discern brush strokes. (See *Popular Photography*, April, 1960, pp. 51-53, 92-97.)

One may hope that Bernard Lovell will eventually come clean. Doubtless he would never have to confess the elaborate fictions of a J. Robert Oppenheimer. Possibly all he has on his conscience is a record of unscientific alacrity in generally accepting and interpreting data tendentiously. Burden enough! But if Bernard Lovell has begun to feel the stick from Moscow, we might look over our supply of carrots.

# V

EAGER Conservatives are waiting everywhere for Lloyd Mallan or somebody to *prove* that Russian space claims are phony. Negatives, however, are seldom susceptible of proof. That is why, in formal debate, the burden of proof is on the affirmative. Nobody—certainly not a layman like me—can *prove* that the *Luna 9* story is a complete fabrication.

So what are you going to do? Accept the story unless it is proved false? O.K. Go ahead. That is the New Gullibility. Motto: *It's Smart to be Stupid*. Psychodelic. Light up a reefer or mainline a shot and you can believe twice as much. Maybe you can make it to the moon yourself—*via* Euphoria, California.

As a rock-headed reactionary I think I'll stick it out a while right here on Earth and ask the Bolshevik moonsters to do the proving. What they don't prove they did (of a constructive nature) I don't believe they did. It's very simple (permission of Alan Stang). They haven't proved anything. Ever.

You got the same choice. But maybe you'd rather be a moderate and believe half of what they say. O.K. Which half?

The danger we face in the West is not primarily from Soviet arms, nor from the consequences of any particular Bolshevik hoax, however preposterous. It is not even from the ubiquitous infiltration of Communist agents into our society. It is simply from atrophy of the power of independent thought. We don't critically examine *anything*! It is not just wishful thinking—many would like to believe that Soviet nuclear-space technology is inferior. But they don't have permission to believe that. Permission from whom? (Uneasy pause.) From Them. Who are They? Oh, you know! The people who Know.

Not only does the average American no longer "trust the soul's invincible surmise"; he doesn't trust, or exercise, his own powers of elementary logic. If



Later, cheese and crackers.

something looks like a duck, waddles like a duck, quacks like a duck, *etc.*, he has to have a *Ph.D.* in zoology tell him whether it is a duck. And he is prepared to believe, on the *Ph.D.*'s certification, that the creature is in fact a slightly undercoordinated butterfly.

There would, then, be small point in multiplying here, even if it were possible, detailed illustrations of the absurdity of the "soft landing" story of *Luna 9*. ("If they hear not Moses and the prophets," said Jesus, "neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." *Luke 16:31*. In the present analogy, if their own God-given common sense can't identify the flavor of Bolshevik baloney, formal demonstrations of a rational character are not likely to have much influence either.) Nevertheless, I should like to set down explicitly one example of the sort of thing that ought to—but as a matter of fact in conventional circles never does—raise questions about Soviet space claims.

My illustration begins with citation of an article in the *Scientific American*

for January 1966, "The Ranger Missions to the Moon." This is a sober account by H.M. Schurmeier, R.L. Heacock, and A.E. Wolfe, three engineers at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the California Institute of Technology—all experienced in space technology. Nothing about this article either in form or content raises any question as to its own authenticity—not in my mind, anyhow—which shows that a Rightwing layman can be satisfied as to absence of bias, even in a generally Leftwing organ such as the *Scientific American*.

Now Schurmeier, Heacock, and Wolfe tell more than I care to know about the details of space photography as accomplished by the serially numbered space vehicles known as *Rangers*, and I did not read the entire article thoroughly, but I picked up a few things, including this: "The ideal launching time for a Ranger photographic mission to the moon fell during a period of five to seven days near the lunar third quarter . . . one had to wait until the sun and moon were in the proper position. . . . Because of constraints on the angle of the Ranger's approach, the third quarter is found to yield three times more light for photography than the first quarter." (pp. 59-60) The article is illustrated by a chart, which indicates that *during the phases of both the new moon and the full moon*, "lighting conditions were completely unsatisfactory."

Well, *Luna 9* allegedly landed February third, two days before the full moon of February fifth, smack inside one of the shaded areas described in *Scientific American's* chart as "completely unsatisfactory." By coincidence I discovered in the *New York Times* of February fifth a similar chart purporting to show how well chosen was the date: "The Soviet moon vehicle landed," the *Times* observed sagely, "at a time when it would be in daylight for two weeks." Yes. At a time when full direct

lighting would flood out details which can be revealed only by cross-lighting. (I know nothing of photography. That technical observation I got by long-distance telephone from Lloyd Mallan.) Well, but the resourceful Russians were counting on that two weeks of daylight coming up, and wanted their cameras in place on the moon's surface well before the ideal "five to seven days near the lunar third quarter." (Would have been within the interval February eighth to sixteenth.) Why did they so? Since they did not have solar batteries that would, or did, stand up during the interval, and they did not even claim to send any television signals after Saturday, February fifth. Confusingly enough, Jodrell Bank said it got signals on Sunday, February sixth, though Moscow had announced that the broadcast was over. Speculations emanated from England that "*Luna 9* might be moving around the moon, either in orbit or over its surface," or "the spacecraft's batteries or temperature controls were running out of power, causing it to act erratically." (*A.P.* story of February 7, 1966, by John Weyland.) Every kind of speculation except the obvious one that since *T.A.S.S.* lies on principle, the whole thing was probably a hoax to begin with. And then try to figure out how the hoax could have been technically perpetrated. So long as that avenue of speculation remains closed by official order, the West will just have to go on looking silly.

I cut the chart out of the *New York Times*, rotated it counter-clockwise ninety degrees so that the phases of the moon would correspond, superimposed it on the *Scientific American* chart (providentially, the diameters of the two charts favored this arrangement), and Xeroxed the resulting montage. It shows *Luna 9* in one of the two "completely unsatisfactory" positions.

Intellectual reflection, anyone? ■ ■



# MR. BLACKOUT

## Power, Sabotage, And The Communists

*Jim Lucier, who holds his Doctoral degree from the University of Michigan, is a former college professor who has become one of America's most quoted young journalists. He is a recent winner of a coveted freedom award, of the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, for his outstanding editorial work. Dr. Lucier makes his home in Richmond, Virginia.*



■ IF you want to re-create a massive power blackout, you don't have much work to do. The job is all mapped out for you—provided, of course, that you want to hit the northeastern United States. Now, as a do-it-yourself saboteur, you might think that it would be pretty hard to get hold of those maps. You might feel embarrassed to walk into your local power company and say, "give me a schematic diagram of your power generation and distribution system." They might look at you funny, while they push the secret buzzer.

But — lucky you! — things are looking up. Your friendly federal government is running a welfare state; the feds have a deep interest in your welfare as a saboteur, a deep concern for your peace of mind. The Federal Power Commission (F.P.C.) has prepared exactly what you are looking for: A comprehensive one-line diagram of the entire northeast power grid, with the substations and distribution lines numbered.

It's yours, cheap, at the Government Printing Office. Just ask for the November blackout report. With a high school physics course, you should be able to figure out just where to jam a penny into the buss bars, and make half a score of states go blooey. Don't thank us; thank Mr. Swidler, Joseph C. Swidler.

Mr. Swidler, until February 11, 1966, was Chairman of the Federal Power Commission. He has also been a few other things as well. He was well known as a friend to the Communist cell that operated in T.V.A. back in the late Thirties. He was a special protege of the well known David E. Lilienthal. He has been a consistent advocate of increasing government power, no pun intended. He also published the blackout report.

And it's a funny thing about that report: It doesn't tell you a thing about the cause of the blackout. It goes into great detail about what happened after the blackout occurred. It explains which equipment failed, and gives you the numbered sequence of the lines which failed. It tells you just about everything you'd want to know about, about the electrical system in the most strategic area of the country — just about everything you'd want to know, if, for example, you had a desk job in the Soviet K.G.B. One wonders, in fact, if Mr. Swidler sent copies of his report directly to the Kremlin when he sent them out to a random list of interested journalists and Congressmen. One doesn't have to assume that he sent them to the Kremlin, of course; he may have sent them



to the Soviet Embassy as a diplomatic courtesy.

# I

Now we are not suggesting that there is anything the least bit untoward or illegal in the general publication of such information. As far as we have been able to determine, the schematics of the grid system are not classified documents. Except for Washington, D.C., and certain defense areas, no one has ever given any thought to putting such information on a secret basis. After all, the information has never been collected until recently. Detailed schematics existed for small ground areas; each private company went about its own business, and took whatever precautions were needed. The fantastic capital growth and investment in America's power companies has been created in decentralized operations.

But one of Mr. Swidler's projects has been the development of a coordinated national power grid system. In January of 1962 the F.P.C. obtained authorization for a National Power Survey to study the possibility of interstate wholesale power exchanges. As many critics recognized at the time, the purpose of this survey was to recommend a vast nationwide network under the iron-clad control of the F.P.C. The opening wedge for this recommendation was a new technical development which made possible the long-distance transmission of power over extra-high voltage lines, without energy loss. Private companies were already taking advantage of this discovery to put generating plants at the mouths of coal mines, instead of in their dense markets, thus cutting the cost of fuel transportation.

So when the National Power Survey was unveiled on December 11, 1964, nearly three years later, it showed a glorious future of cheap power being shunted around a nationwide grid by 1980. Private companies were to par-

ticipate in the building of high-voltage lines, but all under the watchful eye of the F.P.C. Rates were to be rigidly controlled. Of course, there was one other little item: The internal engineering of each of the individual systems had to be "coordinated"; the ultimate implication was that national engineering standards would be set by the F.P.C. There would be lots of "interties," and everything would be hunky-dory. Some carping critics, however, pointed out that a lot of the projected "savings" was obtained by the expedient of ignoring the inescapable factor of inflation.

Meanwhile, some power systems had already begun to establish interties. Even without the National Power Survey, it was plain that under certain conditions interties were beneficial in the distribution of peak power loads, particularly between systems that were coal-generated and those water-generated. The National Power Survey pleased the public power fanatics, while the private systems were more reserved.

On January 28, 1965—six weeks after the Survey was published—at 1:20 a.m., C.S.T., the lights started going off in Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The entire area of each state was not affected; only those areas interconnected with the Fort Randall Dam power plant in the Missouri Basin. This plant is owned and operated by the U.S. Department of Interior. The trouble was later traced to a single faulty relay. As the official report of the Bureau of Reclamation later said, "The false operation resulted from accidental separation of a relay connection during maintenance."

Now on the face of it this is a false statement about the false operation of the relay. We may correctly infer that there was no mechanical failure, because the officials would have been eager to report "an act of God." Instead, the connection was separated, and it was separated in maintenance. What this

means is that it was separated by a human hand. That much is objective fact. But, "accidental"? Even if the authorities caught that human hand in the very act of separation, there is no way on earth to know the motivations of the human heart. The only truthful way the report could read would be: "The false operation resulted from separation of a relay connection during maintenance."

And yet, we cannot even be sure that the relay connection was separated during maintenance. If the authorities had actually discovered a maintenance man in the act of accidentally separating a relay, we may presume that the authorities would have put the connection back together again. No, the most reasonable conclusion is that the separation was discovered only after the January blackout occurred. That is reasonable, isn't it? The authorities are honorable men. They found a separated connection and concluded that it could have happened only during maintenance. And yet anyone who has had the simplest training in logic knows that you can't prove a negative unless you eliminate all possible alternatives. The authorities, all honorable men, left unexamined the obvious alternative to "accident." They gave no hint that they even considered the possibility of sabotage by conscious act.

We have no information about the relay separation at the government's Fort Randall Dam plant other than that given in the Bureau of Reclamation report. However, the incident does indicate what happens when the power in one high-voltage circuit is suddenly thrust into the alternate circuits. The pressure blows the fuse, just as if you suddenly unplugged your toaster, your iron, your electric heater, and your air conditioner and plugged them all at once into a drop cord in the center of the ceiling. The fuse box goes *bzzap*.

But in a major power system, the consequences are even more dangerous.

The dropping of loads spreads from one relay to another, and station after station goes black. Even when there are other generators interconnected, they are unable to handle the sudden demand for power. Mechanical protective devices shut the turbines off when speed or fluctuating power threaten to cause damage. In a widespread grid, the manifold demands and surges come from every direction within moments after the areas under attack begin dropping out.

Doubtless advanced engineering can



Joseph C. Swidler

develop methods of preventing such difficulties when they happen by accident. But bear in mind that it was the protective devices themselves, operating in unforeseen combinations, that caused the cascading effect. The lack of experience with the power grid system, so enthusiastically endorsed by the F.P.C., was at the root of the problem. An alert public servant, charged with the stewardship of the national power resources, would have moved immediately after the Fort Randall Dam episode to solve these

engineering problems. He might have reversed endorsement of the grid concept, at least temporarily. He would have been struck immediately by the thought that such a fault might be mastered by the nation's enemies. Mechanical devices can be made fail-safe; but for every lock, there is a locksmith.

Eleven months later, on November 9, 1965, at 5:16:11 p.m., a power surge in a relay at the Sir Adam Beck Plant No. 2 at Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, caused the relay to snap out, with cascading results for thirty million people that are familiar to every reader. Within three seconds everything from Toronto to New York City went black. For those who are interested in such things, it might be noted that the Sir Adam Beck Plant No. 2 is part of the socialized power system operated by the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which is connected across the Niagara River to the socialized power system operated by the Power Authority of the State of New York.

Those who have read attentively the F.P.C. report on the power failure, released December 6, 1965, know that it does not explain why the power failed; it merely tells what happened when it did. There are five 230 kv transmission lines going northward from Niagara toward Toronto. Back in 1963, some trouble on the lines caused engineers to reset the protective relays on those lines at 375 mw, considerably below their capacity. Since 1963, those relays have not been touched — that is, according to the report.

The point is that those relays *should* have been inspected, and readjusted to meet changing conditions. For conditions had changed, and changed dramatically. Ontario Hydro's brand-new steam generating plant at Lakeview had also been suffering emergency breakdowns, breakdowns which the F.P.C. did not think sufficiently important to explain in the report. Nevertheless,

these outages at Lakeview meant a heavy draw upon the facilities at Beck. Perhaps it is best to quote four bland sentences from the F.P.C. report, because this is all the explanation of the failure that you'll ever get:

*Ontario Hydro officials have informed us that the personnel operating the Ontario Hydro system were not aware that the relay was set to operate at the 375 mw level.*

*With the winter peak in Ontario approaching, the loads on the lines going north from Beck have steadily increased. According to the Ontario Hydro officials, at the time of the initial disturbance the average flow in the line that tripped out first had reached 356 mw, but flows are not absolutely constant, and some fluctuation from moment to moment is normal. With this normal fluctuation, the flow of power at 5:16:11 p.m. on November 9, 1965, reached the level at which the back-up relay was set and it operated to disconnect the line, with the consequences already mentioned, and the further consequences we shall now describe.*

The enterprising reader may memorize this passage for use at cocktail parties when the lights go out. It is sufficiently glib, sufficiently technical, and sufficiently inadequate to lead to an evening of interesting questions. Is such neglect culpable? Why doesn't Ontario Hydro periodically reassess its relay settings? Why are not their engineers immediately aware of the settings on any given line? Why were the settings too low for "normal fluctuation"? Why was the engineering so inadequate that the protective cut-out of one line was enough to overload the others?

There is a cynical answer to all this, and we are happy to endorse it: It is merely that a nationalized bureaucracy is by its very nature more careless, more



inefficient, more indifferent to the public weal than a profit-making institution. True, the F.P.C. does not endorse that conclusion; the F.P.C. thinks that the answer is more bureaucracy. But the facts on record are nevertheless true that the two great power failures of 1965 occurred because of bureaucratic carelessness in public power systems, while two minor outages in private systems in the southwest occurred because of mechanical failure.

This conclusion will be unpalatable to many. There are some people who will always believe that the blackout was an act of Zeus amusing himself with his thunderbolts. The Zeus theory is what, in effect, the F.P.C. proposes. It keeps Mr. Swidler and his friends from thinking about the only other reasonable conclusion, namely, sabotage. They think so little about it that nowhere in the lengthy list of recommendations do they suggest increased security precautions. Not a hint, not a teensy wisp of evidence to indicate that such a thought came into their minds. Do you think that the U.S. has some enemies or something? What's the matter, are you paranoid?

## II

WELL, it's a far cry from saying that because something *could* happen, it *did* happen. But a security-conscious F.P.C. Commissioner might have sat down, some night over crackers and milk, and sketched out the prelude to a nightmare. Granted the vulnerability of a vast, interconnected network of power systems, and granted the example of the Fort Randall blackout already spread before him, he might have traced his index finger across the map until he found the weakest security link in the daisy chain.

Ah, there it is: that Canadian sector operated by Ontario Hydro where the high tension wires leap over the St. Clair River near Marysville, Michigan,

and over the Niagara River at the famous complex of generating plants. Technically the link might be no weaker there than anywhere else, but strategically the situation is 'hopeless. Canada is a proud, sovereign nation, and no toady to Washington. Certainly she is cooperative, but not to the point that we would dare ask for police powers in her territory. Nor would Congress have investigating powers if an incident did occur. It is certainly no reflection on Canada to say that we have no security control over infiltration in her Dominion.

Our hypothetical F.P.C. Commissioner, sitting in his slippers late of an evening and polishing off the bottle of milk, would then start to worry about something else. Canadian politics is notoriously tolerant of radicalism. Parliament at Ottawa always has a handful of out-and-out socialists, some of them violent radicals. It is as though the U.S. had to put up with New York City on a national scale. Communists agitate openly with acts of terrorism in Quebec, and the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation acts like it were an arm of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. Toronto is a supply depot for anarchists; it was from here that that weird cabal set out with dynamite to obliterate the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell, and the Washington Monument.

Toronto is also on the pipeline for transmitting Communist propaganda into the U.S. The Cuban Embassy in Ottawa is tremendously overstaffed, for "training" purposes. From this fount flows an amazing amount of propaganda. *The Crusader* of Robert F. Williams, for example; the Robert F. Williams who is the American Negro Communist who fled to asylum in Cuba. Amid gentle directions for the manufacture of Mólotov Cocktails, lye bombs, and booby traps, *The Crusader* once declared:



*The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community, the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown . . . . The nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence, and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society.*

Now if you want something paranoid, there it is. National disasters have frequently overtaken Americans, without the psychological effects which Williams hopes for. And even when, as on November ninth, "sudden disruption" did occur, Americans remained calm and sensible.

Yet there are those who apparently endorse this bizarre nonsense. "Help build *The Crusader!*", concludes nearly every issue. "We need volunteer distributors throughout the world . . . . Send for your bundle today to *The Crusader*, Mrs. Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Gardens, Toronto 3, Canada."

The Olsons, Anne and Vernel, have long been interested in Cuba, and traveled down there in 1963 to view the revolution in person. Since his return, Mr. Olson has been National Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (F.P.C.C.), the group which quickly moved shop to Canada when one of its field organizers, Lee Harvey Oswald, indiscreetly shot the President of the United States.

Now suppose finally — and here our mythical F.P.C. Commissioner is licking the last crumbs off his fingers — suppose that some such outfit as this were to get an agent into a crucial job at Ontario Hydro. Suppose, indeed! Better watch that paranoia.

This reporter talked to Mr. Vernel Olson by long-distance telephone, early this year, while he was on his job at the Electrical Research Division of the On-

tario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, 200 Kipling Avenue South, in the Toronto suburb of Islington. Mr. Olson at first was expansive. He confirmed indeed that he had been a recent Cuban tourist. He betrayed no qualms at admitting that he was still National Chairman of the F.P.C.C. He was still interested in all phases of the Cuban situation. But he declined to discuss his duties at Ontario Hydro. That was a "personal matter," he said.

No inference can be drawn from Mr. Olson's mere employment at Ontario Hydro, a fact first uncovered by the diligent investigation of Mr. Sam Blumenfeld, news analyst for *The Review Of The News*. High sources at Ontario Hydro have assured us "without qualification" that no sabotage occurred to cause the November blackout. But if a tired radical like Mr. Olson, long known as a butt of jokes to the Toronto press corps, could get so close to the vital center of the American continent, what could an unknown Communist cell do — one careful to avoid such tell-tale agitprop as *The Crusader*? If our imaginary F.P.C. Commissioner could conceive such a thing, he would groan restlessly in his sleep.

### III

THERE IS reason to believe that the erstwhile F.P.C. Chairman, Joseph C. Swidler, could have conceived of such a Communist cell operating within a power company. Now let us go back to the Nineteen-Thirties, when Mr. Swidler was one rung up on his career. He had worked in Chicago for the law firm of David E. Lilienthal. When Lilienthal went down to take over T.V.A. he took Mr. Swidler with him as an assistant counsel in the Legal Department.

Now in this very period, as it later developed, a notorious Communist cell was operating in T.V.A. Members were spotted in key positions in every department — personnel, archives, filing, tech-

nical positions. It was the announced aim of the semi-open activity to spot fifty Communists in the key jobs on the switches, and the Comrades worked to that effect. They hoped to secure the cooperation of many high officials in the T.V.A. In Executive Hearings, U.S. House of Representatives, Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (Dies Committee), 1943, p. 735, appears the following colloquy between the Dies Committee investigators and one Mrs. George H. Paris of Knoxville, an undercover agent who took notes at cell meetings:

MRS. PARIS. *Now this Joseph Swidler was discussed at a meeting.*

Q. *Now, this Joseph Swidler you speak of there —*

Q. *What about him?*

Q. *Let us identify Mr. Joseph Swidler. That is Mr. Joseph C. Swidler and he is Solicitor for the Tennessee Valley Authority?*

MRS. PARIS. *Yes.*

Q. *And stands next to Mr. William C. Fitts, Jr., as General Counsel?*

MRS. PARIS. *Yes sir, he was discussed at a meeting. This is what I have here. "Discussed at a meeting, by Muriel Borah and she said, 'With Joseph Swidler up there that [sic] we can get any information that we want and it will be legal and won't cost us anything because he is so closely affiliated with us.'"*

Q. *Do you know any basis for such a statement?*

MR. PARIS. *He wasn't at a meeting where I have ever been. His name was just brought in there.*

Of course, Mrs. Paris was not necessarily privy to everything that her leaders knew. She had two lists of names that she gave to the Dies Committee, one of Communists whose Party cards had actually been seen, and another of

"sympathizers" whose cards, if any, were never disclosed. Mr. Swidler was on her list of "sympathizers." (See p. 743, of the same Hearings.)

Other people had noticed Mr. Swidler's sympathies too. One man's testimony was put on public record early in 1947. David E. Lilienthal had been given an interim appointment as Chairman of the new Atomic Energy Commission in October of 1946. Before the Senate could confirm him, he busily began colonizing the new agency with staffers from his old clique in T.V.A.

Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, who was perhaps more aware of what was going on in Knoxville than the rest of the Senate, charged that Lilienthal had knowingly tolerated the Communist activity in T.V.A. Moreover, he said that three of the new A.E.C. men hired at handsome salaries by Lilienthal were "Communists." On April 3, 1947, Senator McKellar cited the testimony of L. B. Bolt Jr., before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Mr. Bolt had worked in the T.V.A. legal department with the group of men in question. After naming those whom he believed were Communists, on the basis of his day-to-day dealings with them, he went on to discuss another group. (*Congressional Record*, April 3, 1947, p. A1465.)

MR. BOLT. *Now, next to this group was Joseph C. Swidler, the present [1947] general counsel, Herbert S. Marks, recently appointed general counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Melvin Siegel*

THE CHAIRMAN. *When you say "next to this group," what do you mean by the term?*

MR. BOLT. *I think I can clarify it. They never acknowledged openly or avowedly that they were Communists.*

*Now here is a factual situation:*

These three men in particular set themselves up as consultants and advisers to the known and avowed Communists within TVA. In other words, there was no effort to hide the activity whatsoever within the organization.

SENATOR JOHNSON. Was that role of consultant official, or is that your term?

MR. BOLT. That is my term. In other words, they were always conferring; the known Communists from other departments were always coming up to the legal department and going into these conferences with these three men, Swidler, Marks, and Siegel.

Now, their positive activity was this: They had a TVA union that was an AFL affiliate, and there was a small group of known Communists within the organization that sought to overturn the existing union and make it a CIO affiliate.

Now Joseph C. Swidler, Herbert B. Marks, and Melvin Siegel were actively propagandizing other members of the TVA legal department, particularly with reference to joining this CIO-affiliated union. The process they employed was this: I was extremely busy at the time, but they first sent this John Frantz around to try to convert you to communism and then insist that you join this CIO or support the CIO union. . . . The solicitor, as I recall, was William C. Fitts, Jr. . . . And his disciples were Gordon R. Clapp,\* Arthur S. Jandrey—and there were some others in the personnel department.

Now, these three men, Swidler, Marks, and Siegel, were very close

friends of David Lilienthal. They knew each other as Joe, Herb, Mel, and Dave, and they did nothing, in other words, without ascertaining how the wind blew from upstairs, and they made no secret of the fact—

\* \* \*

And on one occasion I heard Marks pull: "If you don't do such and such, I will tell Dave, and Dave will tell Felix, and Felix will tell Sam, and Sam will tell the Skipper."

SENATOR McKELLAR. What did he mean by that?

MR. BOLT. Well "Dave" meant David Lilienthal, "Felix" meant Felix Frankfurter, "Sam" meant Sam Rosenman, and "the Skipper" meant President Roosevelt.

This testimony gives an illustration of the steering linkage that made the vehicle of federal control turn in the desired direction. Communists appear not only as initiators of policy, but as specially protected elements. Consider the case of Buck Borah, husband of the woman who, in the testimony of Mrs. Paris, had so much confidence in Mr. Swidler:

MR. BOLT. There was a man in the employ of TVA by the name of Bernard "Buck" Borah. He was an avowed Communist. He spent most of his time out propagandizing and organizing on TVA time. His supervisor was T. Levron Howard.

Now, the supervisor attempted to mark on his record either "unsatisfactory," or to dismiss him, but, in any event, an issue was raised and Borah resisted. He was actively defended by Joseph C. Swidler, Herbert S. Marks, and Melvin Siegel.

\* \* \*

Now, there is another case, that of Henry C. Hart. He was an avowed Communist. From the record of the

\* Note: General Manager and Chairman of the Board of T.V.A. during the Forties; not to be confused with his brother, Norman M. Clapp, R.E.A. Administrator since 1961.



*Dies Committee and admitted testimony, I don't think there is any question about it, and the TVA officials, including Gordon R. Clapp and Mr. Lilienthal, either knew it or should have known it. But he was defeated; and no later than two weeks ago this man was eulogized on at least two different occasions before a Senate committee by Gordon R. Clapp.*

SENATOR McKELLAR. *What was done with Hart?*

MR. BOLT. *He was retained.*

SENATOR McKELLAR. *And promoted?*

MR. BOLT. *And promoted.*

Senator McKellar recalled from Mr. Bolt's testimony that thirty charges were brought against Joseph C. Swidler himself, charging him with illegal actions, violations of policy matters, and personal politics. He was cleared by a very unusual procedure:

MR. BOLT. *George P. Gant, who was director of personnel under Aubrey Williams, who has now been elevated to be general manager of TVA, heard the proceeding and admitted conferring many times in private with Swidler as to what should be done. And the whole effect—I can prove it by the record—was that Swidler was permitted to decide his own case.*

#### IV

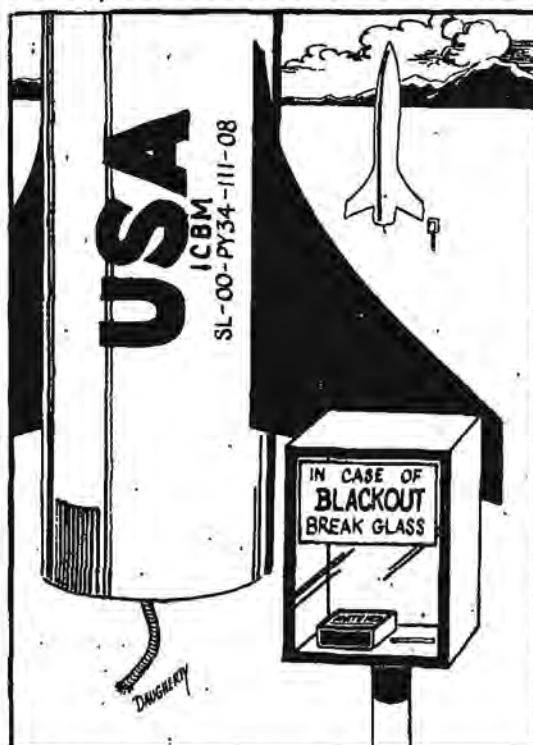
WITH SUCH witnesses testifying under oath that Mr. Swidler had an intimate acquaintance with the problems encountered when a Communist cell begins to work in a public power system, one would think that the first thing he would have done, when he became F.P.C. Chairman in 1961, would have been to institute immediately an agency to study and recommend security practices consonant with the developing

technology of long-distance transmission. But he did not. His first important action was the establishment, in May of 1962, of a brand-new Division of Rates and Corporate Regulation—moving into an uncharted field of wholesale power-rate regulation. In his own words, it was intended to be a "vigorous program."

The second project was, as we have seen, the institution of the National Power Survey, not completed until 1964.

His third important project was the vigorous prosecution of a new type of regulation of natural gas pipeline rates. Impatient with a case-by-case setting of well-head gas rates, Mr. Swidler turned to area-wide, blanket ceiling prices, a questionable construction of the interstate commerce authority. Whether he was happy with this new form of regulation he was certainly regulation happy.

One may presume that it is this consuming passion for central control that gives him a blackout when the nation's security is at stake. He is Mr. Blackout



A natural solution.



himself. This very difficulty was a source of controversy when he was nominated by President Kennedy. The Senators were greatly concerned; the usual formality of a polite confirmation went by the boards. The Committee grilled him for several days, quoting from his own published writings. His own words portrayed him as an advocate of nationalization of the nation's power systems, and amalgamation of all systems into a gigantic T.V.A.

The Senators knew that in 1954 his astonishing ruling, as general counsel to T.V.A., sought to give T.V.A. the power to build new steam generating plants from its own revenues, without permission from Congress. He believed that T.V.A. should have "flexibility" to decide its own future. (Today T.V.A. generates ten percent of all the power in the U.S.) In 1957 when Mr. Swidler went into private law practice, he made a specialty of R.E.A. business.

The Senators feared that his views appeared to type him as an opponent of private capital, *per se*. The Committee recommended his appointment only after he said that his views had modified, and that he was now willing to admit a place for private capital and the profit incentive side by side with the socialized systems. In the end, Senator Thurmond cast the only dissenting vote.

It is impossible to believe that the testimony of Mrs. Paris and Mr. Bolt was not known to Attorney General Robert Kennedy when this nomination was made. Yet, if this information had been made public, it might have catalyzed the indefinite yet strong misgivings expressed by the Senate Committee. A man does not have to be proved to be an actual Communist before his collectivist tendencies make him an inappropriate candidate for public office. It is noteworthy that Mr. Swidler was broadly rebuked by Congress in two of his major schemes, one to take over con-

trol and planning of all long-distance power lines, private and federal, and the other to take control of rural co-ops.

Mr. Swidler's term was scheduled to expire on June 25, 1965, and everyone expected President Johnson to bid him good riddance. But Mr. Swidler stayed, and stayed. In November came the great blackout; and in December the F.P.C. report, which makes the curious recommendation that *more* centralization, and *more* federal control, is the answer to making the grid foolproof; from Mr. Swidler's record as a public servant, one would hardly expect to find anything else. And then, on February eleventh, the new Chairman was appointed.

The new Chairman is Lee C. White, sometime aide to both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. But more significant, he is the personal protege of Joseph C. Swidler. He came to T.V.A. as an assistant counsel under Mr. Swidler in the early Fifties. As the swing vote on the F.P.C., he may be expected to man the government grappling hook whenever possible. There is no record that Mr. White belonged to the hairy circles in which his boss traveled a decade previously, but one may expect the same bias towards excessive regulation—which, with its rigidity and inefficiency strikes out at the consumer as well as industry. The frequent assumption that consumer and governmental interests coincide is naive. The contempt for public service that is inherent in the bureaucratic process must always be a factor in planning.

Meanwhile, the multi-color, gate-fold maps of the northeast power grid that Mr. Swidler put in the F.P.C. report are no doubt already filed away in the Kremlin. Those words from twenty-five years ago come back to mock us all: "With Joseph Swidler up there, we can get any information we want and it will be legal and won't cost us anything."

■ ■

# GREAT SOCIETY

## After Us The Deluge

Hans Sennholz is Chairman of the Department of Economics at Grove City College. He holds Doctoral degrees in both Political Science and Economics and is a frequent contributor to conservative and scholarly periodicals. Professor Sennholz is a Contributing Editor to AMERICAN OPINION where his "Principles of Economics" is a regular feature.



■ THE GREAT SOCIETY CONGRESS has already authorized the expenditure of more of the taxpayers' money than any other Congress in war or peace. The first session of the Eighty-Ninth Congress appropriated one hundred and nineteen billion dollars for federal expenditures this year. And before the end of the fiscal year the President will have to ask for another five to ten billion dollars to meet his current bills.

We may recall that last January the Administration budget was presented to Congress as one cut to "bare bones," a "rock bottom proposal" — below the 100 billion dollar mark." But fiscal proposals obviously do not mean much to the Great Society, nor does the federal debt, which has risen nearly thirty billion dollars during the last five years and probably will rise another ten billion dollars before the end of June. The rubber-stamp Democratic Congress gave the President practically everything he asked for — one hundred and nineteen billion dollars . . . and a tax

reduction. Of course, the tax cut was merely a sham designed to win political elections, but did not reduce the burden of government. For this burden is measured by the government expenditures which withdraw economic resources and labor from the economy. But the total costs of the Great Society cannot be measured in dollars and cents. They cannot even be estimated by federal expenditures and government debt. The true costs of the Great Society transcend man's economic actions, although these are affected by nearly every aspect of its policies.

*President Johnson and a Congress that is heavily Democratic are revolutionizing our way of life.* What was merely a dream for Franklin D. Roosevelt and his "New Dealers" and for John F. Kennedy and his "New Frontiersmen" is about to become reality with Lyndon B. Johnson. Where others have failed he is succeeding. An all-powerful Central Government is emerging. The states are rapidly declining in role and significance. Socialization is carried into more and more fields. And individual enterprise is manipulated and regulated to achieve "prosperity" and "full employment."

Lyndon Johnson broke through the barriers that had blocked government entry into several important fields. He succeeded in starting down the road to socialized medicine which lies in the land of cradle-to-grave security of all kinds. Beginning in July of 1966, the federal program will provide hospital and nursing-home care under Social Security for persons aged sixty-five and

older. And it will inaugurate a subsidized plan of insurance for physicians' and surgeons' bills.

The President also succeeded in starting a program of federal aid to local schools, which is the prelude to federal control over our schools, as the Supreme Court has ruled "that which the government subsidizes it must control." Along with that aid comes the strings held by Washington that are guiding the direction of schooling. The power of the federal purse is also used to achieve racial integration and balance as conceived by the Great Society architects.

With the aid of Congress, President Johnson is extending federal authority all over the American way of life. Even the broad field of race relations is revolutionized by a combination of federal police power and federal cash. Washington police power now extends down to the local communities in order to assure everyone's right to vote. The newly organized Negro vote in turn is counted on not only to reinforce the Great Society but also to change the social and economic policies of local governments.

To assure equal rights of Negroes in schools, motels, hotels, restaurants, swimming pools, hospitals, etc., President Johnson has extended federal authority into affairs that from the beginning of this nation were considered local and even private. The President is reaching down into local communities in his war on poverty, plans for regional development, and urban renewal. The federal government finances the construction of new cities, development of vast industrial regions, river basins, and various resources. A new Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Cabinet will deal with the nation's urban areas, and can be expected to soon dwarf the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor.

When, last November, the new De-

partment came into existence the *Arizona Republic* observed that "Congress, under the effective prodding of the President, has taken the American people another long step down the road to a unitary, centralized government.

"Nowhere does the U.S. Constitution give the federal government any control over urban affairs. Only a legislative warping of the due process and public welfare clauses has made such interference possible. But make no mistake; the United States is more and more concerning itself with the purely local affairs that have so long been the prerogative of the cities.

"Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this centralization of power is the ceaseless flow of local officials to Washington for conferences. Scarcely a week passes but some city or county department head goes from Phoenix to Washington to get the answer to a problem which, a few years ago, would have been solved in city hall or the court house.

"An example of the new Washington pressures can be found in Mayor Graham's calendar for this year. On five occasions in a little less than eight months the mayor has had to go back to Washington. These weren't sightseeing trips or social junkets. He's been in Washington before.

"But Mayor Graham had to make the trips to get money or advance legislation or secure directives from the great federal bureaucracy which is steadily increasing its control over 'every Middlesex, village and farm,' if we may borrow the words that Longfellow used in a completely different context.

"It should be noted that the mayors held their national conference in Washington this year. The governors, by the way, started their conference in Minneapolis but ended up in Washington."

The Great Society revolutionized the fiscal policies of the federal government. The President is convinced that he can



prevent depressions and even mitigate recessions. Large-scale spending and easy money policies are to assure an everlasting boom. In addition, tax cuts are to accompany the growth of federal expenditures.

This very approach to fiscal matters partially explains President Johnson's popularity and success in selling revolutionary concepts to Congress and the people. His efforts to lower taxes and simultaneously increase federal spending sold the business and banking community on his *Great Society* objectives. The cut in income and corporation taxes in 1964, and the cut in excise taxes in 1965, followed by rising federal expenditures, created the political and economic climate that permitted the Johnson programs to sail through Congress.

Of course, economists realize that the burden of government is measured by the governmental expenditures which withdraw economic resources and labor from the economy. Federal taxes merely provide the lion's share of the revenue, the balance being raised by borrowing. When taxes are lowered, but government spending is maintained or even increased, the government burden is merely shifted from the shoulders of taxpayers to those of lenders, whose savings are consumed. If the deficit is monetized — that is, if the Treasury obligations are used to issue new money — the government burden is shifted to the victims of inflation. Thus our taxes were reduced, but our savings in the form of bank accounts, pension funds, life insurance policies, and other money claims were depreciated by the amount of tax reduction or even more.

#### **Dependence On Government**

The *Great Society* has made government the biggest growth factor in the nation. Governments have on their payroll 12.9 million people. One worker in six is now employed by federal, state,

or local government, compared with one in seven in 1955, and one in nine back in 1948. By 1970 when cities are being modernized, schools and colleges are expanded, poverty is fought on a vast scale, the countryside is beautified, rivers are harnessed, hospital and medical care extended to every citizen, we must anticipate an even lower ratio of government employment to that in commerce and industry.

These figures do not include another five million workers in private industry who owe their jobs to government spending of one sort or another. They do not include income and employment created indirectly in spending for defense, space, roads, and the many other government activities. And these employment statistics do not reveal the dependence of several more million Americans on government handouts. One dollar out of every 4.5 dollars paid directly to people is a government dollar. Altogether 177 billion dollars were paid out by government in the fiscal year that ended last June thirtieth. In 1966 total outlays are expected to pass the 200-billion-dollar annual rate.

The dependence of the population on government is growing steadily. As the state and local governments cannot keep pace with the rising demand for their services the federal government is supplying more and more funds. The federal government, which now is giving states and local governments 14.6 percent of their revenues, in turn must borrow heavily to finance all these activities. Thus the federal debt and the interest on this debt continue their upward march.

This tendency of government growth in practically all spheres of individual action fills us with grave concern about the future of our Republic. Could it be that the growth of government and our dependence on it have passed the point of no return? This is the point where a reversal of the ominous trend is no



longer feasible because the economic existence of too many people depends on government, on rising taxes and more controls. With 12.9 million people on government payrolls, five million people living on government contracts, some twenty million people on Social Security and other government retirement programs, and several more millions enjoying government aid and subsidy, the march towards all-round socialism and government omnipotence goes on. With one dollar out of every 4.5 dollars received by people being a tax dollar, which is spent either to breed more tax dollars, or control, regulate, and police the productive dollars, political and economic freedom seem irretrievably lost.

Philosophers and economists have estimated that the German people passed their point of no return, and subsequently sank into tyranny and barbarism, after most Germans were covered by Social Security and Medicare and one out of seven lived on government payrolls. As stated above, the American people have proceeded already far beyond this German point of no return. Unless we are saved by forces and events beyond our comprehension, by an awakening miracle, the American Republic must give way to political tyranny and economic serfdom.

### Expanding Costs

President Johnson has pushed the federal government into the almost limitless field of poverty elimination. He has declared "war on poverty." In this war a revolutionary concept was introduced: federal subsidy to help pay the rent of low-income families. Both, the War on Poverty and the idea of subsidized rent, are expected to catch on with voters in a big way.

The Great Society Congress has thus written into law the concept that the U.S. Government guarantees every American a job of his liking, a reason-

ably good living, an adequate diet, comfortable housing, medical care in old age, help for schooling, including a college scholarship. The U.S. Government is now committed to solving the economic difficulties of all people.

What the financial costs of the new program will be can only be estimated. For the first year alone Congress has authorized \$1.5 billion. In the future the costs must be expected to soar from election to election. Of course, this new program is merely a Lyndon Johnson addition to a long series of welfare programs inaugurated by the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Republicanism, and the New Frontier. Thirty years ago Social Security was already introduced as the final program to end all other need for assistance. It was followed by countless other schemes of federal welfare — from aid to education to medical care, from agricultural relief to urban reconstruction. And yet, the poverty among the needy has persisted, relief rolls have grown twice as fast as population, and relief costs have gone up even faster.

The welfare state is gnawing at the moral and intellectual fiber of the American people. A Labor Department report on the "breakdown of Negro family life in the nation's largest cities," a summary of which was carried in the August 9, 1965, issue of *Newsweek* magazine, supplies some data of this moral decay. Of course, the report does not put the finger of blame on government policies that foster and breed irresponsibility and immorality, but conveniently points at racial bias and discrimination.

According to this report, family life for millions of unskilled, poorly educated Negro city dwellers has virtually disintegrated. Nearly one-fourth of Negro women who have been married now are divorced or separated. The rate for white women is 7.9 percent. Nearly one out of every four Negro babies

born today is illegitimate. The Negro illegitimate rate — 23.6 percent — compares to 3.07 for whites. More than half of all Negro children are helped by federal-state aid to dependent children (A.D.C.). This compares to eight percent of white children. The birth rate for Negroes is forty percent higher than for whites, and the report says that Negroes will make up one-eighth of the U.S. population by 1972. And the unemployment rate among Negroes is about double that for whites.

In my belief no racial explanation of this data is needed — merely an understanding of the immoral effects of the welfare state. The disintegration of family life for millions of unskilled, poorly educated Negro city dwellers differs little from that of unskilled, poorly educated white city dwellers. In both cases the temptations and policies of the welfare state are destroying the moral fiber.

At first, the labor legislation of the last thirty years has made them unemployable. The minimum wage legislation that imposes labor costs far in excess of unskilled labor productivity prevents their employment and delivers them to the mercy of the welfare state. Militant labor union activity achieves the same results.

Thus rendered unemployable they are supported out of public funds. In a prosperous society, such as ours, public support of dependents frequently exceeds that which unemployed family fathers do provide. But government support that exceeds the father's support reduces his economic significance for the family. In case the family is separated from its father, public support is raised again to meet the material needs of the divided family. Consequently, many welfare recipients pretend to be separated from their families. And, subsequently, many families actually break up. There are countless couples living on Social Security or welfare who "can-

not afford" to join in legal matrimony or even admit their common-law arrangement. To legalize their relationship would immediately reduce or completely withhold the welfare benefits.

It is obvious that only people with relatively low incomes can be tempted by these benefits. This is why they are the primary victims of the welfare state and its immoral temptations. And this is why millions of Negroes who earn relatively low incomes are among these victims.

At a time of relative prosperity, welfare rolls are growing and relief costs are soaring. In New York City, for instance, half-a-million people live on relief. Welfare expenditures have risen to half-a-billion dollars a year. Three-fourths of all relief recipients are children without fathers. Deterioration of moral standards and a spreading acceptance of the idea that life is hopeless and that the dole is a way of life are responsible for the welfare society.

### More Inflation

Our economic destruction is spearheaded by the federal inflation of our money. The purchasing power of our dollar is eroding at a rising rate and our monetary savings are depreciated month after month. Inflation is a hidden tax levied on all the people with money savings or claims to money. It is the tax that ultimately balances all federal expenditures no matter how high they soar.

Inflation is a symptom of an advanced state of welfarism and approaching socialism. In the first generation of the welfare state, the demands on the government for benefits, favors, and handouts are usually met out of the proceeds of taxation levied on capitalists and businessmen. "Tax Peter to pay Paul" is the motto of this early phase. But when Peter's wealth and income are taxed at confiscatory rates and his economic production becomes painfully

slow, when the "national economic growth rate" becomes embarrassingly low, as in the years of the Eisenhower regime, and when the demand for government redistribution proves insatiable, the federal printing presses are brought into operation. To raise the people's taxes in order to pay for the promised benefits would be suicidal politically. Therefore, no alternative other than currency debauchery is open to the welfare Administration. Its motto is ancient: "After us the deluge." Our deluge is economic socialism and political tyranny.

### Follies Of The Past

The authors of the Great Society want us to believe that their particular recipes were ingeniously developed in the intellectual kitchen of the American academies and the laboratories of progressive politics. The Great Society, we are told, is a revolutionary concept that flows from the tradition of American greatness, humanitarian concern for individual existence, and the responsibilities of unprecedented power and wealth. "Fellow revolutionaries" the President calls his admirers. "We are moving ahead toward American greatness, world peace and prosperity for all," he says.

In political oratory such Presidential prognostications may be profitable exercises. In election demagoguery they may be lauded as model phrases capable of winning crucial elections. But to the historian they mean curious repetitions of old aspirations, unimaginative objectives that have survived the distant past.

An historical dissection of the Great Society reveals only three component parts. One was taken from the armory of socialism, both Marxian and Fabian, and stems from the Nineteenth Century. Another part dates back to the age of *mercantilism* of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century. And yet another is even older, taken from Feudalism that

darkened Europe for more than a millennium.

The *socialistic* roots of the Great Society are visible in the popular concept of the nature of society, the materialist conception of history, the beliefs in conflict as a factor in social evolution, in the clash of class interests, the concentration of capital and the formation of monopolies. These ideological roots have borne fruit in the form of labor legislation, compulsory social insurance, unemployment insurance, trade unionism, confiscatory taxation, inflation, and various socialization.

Take, for instance, the ideas of social and economic conflict and the clash of class interest. They conquered American thought and policies during the 1930's. They make their appearance in the popular notion that the unhampered capitalistic economy delivers the wage earners to the discretion and power of wealthy industrialists. The individual worker is said to be helpless and in need of legal protection in his bargaining with management whose primary concerns are power and profit. The unbridled market system with its profit motive, and unhampered competition as it prevailed in this country before World War I, is condemned for having inflicted hardship and deprivation on many generations of workers. Such notions, which are popular versions of the doctrines of conflict and exploitation, have invaded our colleges and universities, indeed all channels of education and communication. They have radically changed our political Parties and our churches. They have given rise to a gigantic labor union movement and to the "New Deal" in social and economic matters. In fact, since the 1930's the conflict theory determines our basic economic policies on all levels of government.

Even in foreign affairs the Marxian-Leninian interpretation of international economic conflict is perverting our out-



look. Our statesmen agree with Moscow on the capitalistic world of colonialism. Of course, they like to blame the European colonial powers for the misery and poverty of the underdeveloped countries, while Moscow puts most of the blame on us.

Confused by our own misconceptions of history, we fail to comprehend that the Asian and African nations are animated by ideas of nationalism, socialism, and Communism. They despise and sneer at the Western concepts of individual liberty and capitalism. Encouraged by the West's own abandonment of capitalism, and by the slogans of Communism, they hate and abuse the very system of private property that offers the only solution to their poverty. To them, political independence achieved with our help offers an opportunity to confiscate and nationalize prosperous industries, to further disrupt the international division of production, and to introduce other anti-capitalist measures. Thus, having succeeded in reducing European power and prestige we finally stand alone against the onslaught of world Communism.

The *mercantilistic* roots of the Great Society stem from the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries. The politics of mercantilism were devoted to the aggrandizement of the state through material resources, procedures, and techniques. To attain material prosperity the mercantilists endeavored to increase national production and the national supply of precious metals. Regulations were designed to increase exports and decrease imports. The central government controlled trade, determined what each individual should produce, how he should produce it, what he should earn, and how to dispose of his earnings.

The foreign trade policies of the Great Society have gradually fallen under the sway of this Sixteenth Century economic thought. In order to "correct"

our unfavorable balance of payments Americans are prohibited from owning gold in foreign countries. A "voluntary" program aims to restrict bank and business investments abroad in order to keep money and gold in the United States. A punitive tax on American purchases of foreign securities follows the same objective. The Great Society planners are even contemplating comprehensive controls over all our foreign trade and transactions in order to prevent us from spending our money abroad.

In England comprehensive foreign exchange control was recorded even during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Until the reign of Charles I (1628) all exchange operations and all trade in precious metals were handled by the office of Royal Exchanger. Except for royal favor and privilege, exportation of bullion and coin was prohibited until 1663 when it was sanctioned for foreign coins only. The penalty for disobedience was very severe; in many cases it was death on the gallows.

The *medieval* roots of the Great Society which are growing and sprouting profusely are characterized by the hierarchical organization of society, the subordination of the individual to the institution, the conception of reality as a body of ethical revelation, and the political fragmentation of the universal order.

During the Middle Ages the glorious civilization of Greece and Rome lay in ruins. Roman individualism had given way to feudal collectivism. Rigidity, custom, lack of freedom, and mutual obligations marked the darkness of the Middle Ages. The Medieval philosophers, the Scholastics, endeavored to build a synthesis to form a consistent body of logical rules concerning the rights and duties of the classes of men. Manufacture and trade were despised, accumulation of wealth was condemned.



According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest Medieval philosopher, economic production and exchange must be governed by justice. "Render to each what belongs to him" was interpreted to mean profit and interest are "usury" and therefore must be outlawed. Economic price must coincide with "true value" which meant the customary price. Wages were to be "just," which meant a living wage according to the station of life of the worker. Noblemen and functionaries of the state and church were to be rewarded royally, the craftsmen befitting the craftsmen, and the serfs like serfs.

Who would deny that the Great Society is developing symptoms of Feudalism, the medieval system in which society was held together by mutual obligations and services? And who would deny the evolution of a new hierarchical structure of society from the great President to his paladins down to the wards of the omnipresent state?

And who would deny the political and economic fragmentation of the world? With the help of American government the great free trade areas of the British commonwealth, and the French and Belgian empires, were dissolved into numerous collective entities.

Trade obstacles have multiplied, and free trade has given way to economic warfare.

The Great Society is leading the way in the political and economic fragmentation of the world. According to today's newspapers (January 21, 1966), the U. S. Government just placed tight curbs on the exportation of copper in order "to protect our share of the dwindling world supply." It is interesting to compare this particular fragmentation with that of England during the Twelfth Century. In 1176 and 1177 Henry II imposed similar restrictions that lasted until 1822. However, export prohibitions on iron, copper, and bell metal were repealed in 1694. The high-water mark of such medieval trade restrictions in England was reached under Edward III about the middle of the Fourteenth Century. (Cf. Eli F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, Macmillan Co., New York, Vol. I, p. 128 *et seq.*) Is it irrational to conclude that the Great Society, at least in this respect, just relapsed into the Fourteenth Century?

The Great Society is an infamous combination of ancient follies, of socialistic notions and prejudices, of covetousness and blindness. While it promises future bliss it is gradually sinking into tyranny and darkness. ■ ■

## CRACKER BARREL

■ EAGLE ROCK—The cover of a recent issue of *Life* magazine showed a picture of Sidney Poitier, Harry Belafonte, and Sammy Davis Jr. To most of us that was just a picture of three talented performers enjoying each other's company. But to the Fair Housing and Human Rights Association of Stoughton, Massachusetts, it's probably a dreadful example of the crime of "clustering." You haven't heard of it? Neither had anyone else until the Association dreamed it up. "Clustering" occurs when a Negro wants to live next door to another Negro.

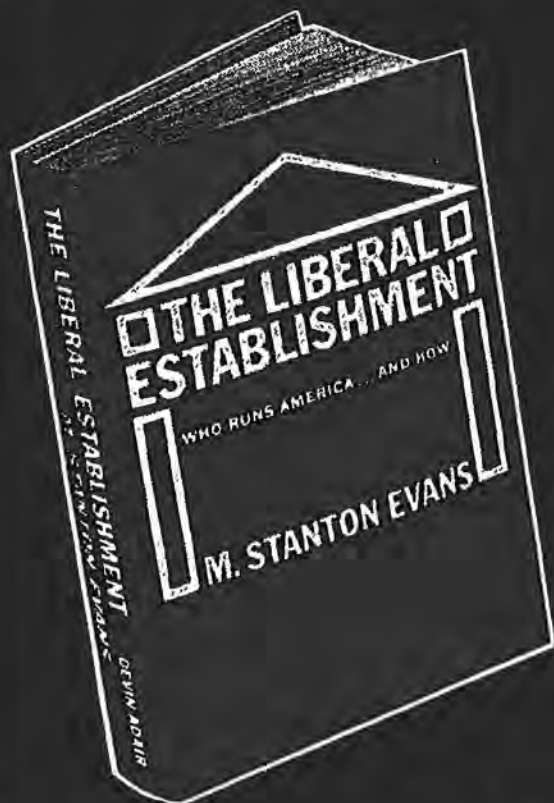
In what probably is the most fantastic and racist decision on record, the Stoughton eggheads have ruled that two or more Negroes living as neighbors constitutes a "ghetto." It all came to light, according to the *Boston Globe*, when a Negro bought a house in Stoughton, just because it suited him—without consulting any committee. You guessed it—the house was next door to one occupied by another Negro. Apparently both Negroes were happy but the planners were fit to be tied. Then a third Negro bought a house on the street and the planners flipped. When a fourth house was offered for sale, the Fair Housing and Human Rights Association demanded that the owner *not sell to Negroes*. When he complied, a complaint was lodged against him with the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.). Now I ask you!

Mrs. D. I. Edelstein, chairman of the association that brought these paradoxes to perfection, happily told the Press, "Stoughton is a healthy town." Maybe not for Negroes; but for Big Sister, the planner, it's positively jumping.

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—JACK MOFFITT

AMERICAN OPINION



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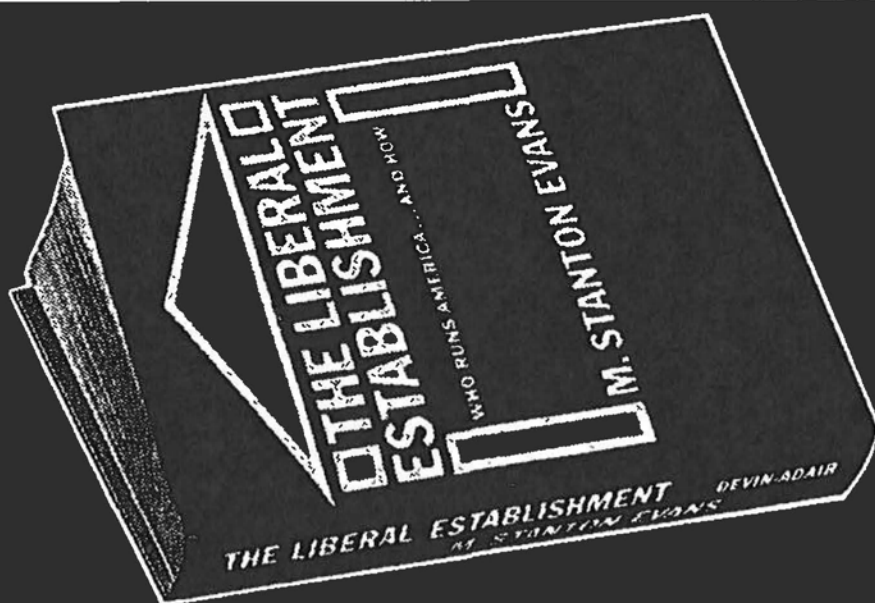
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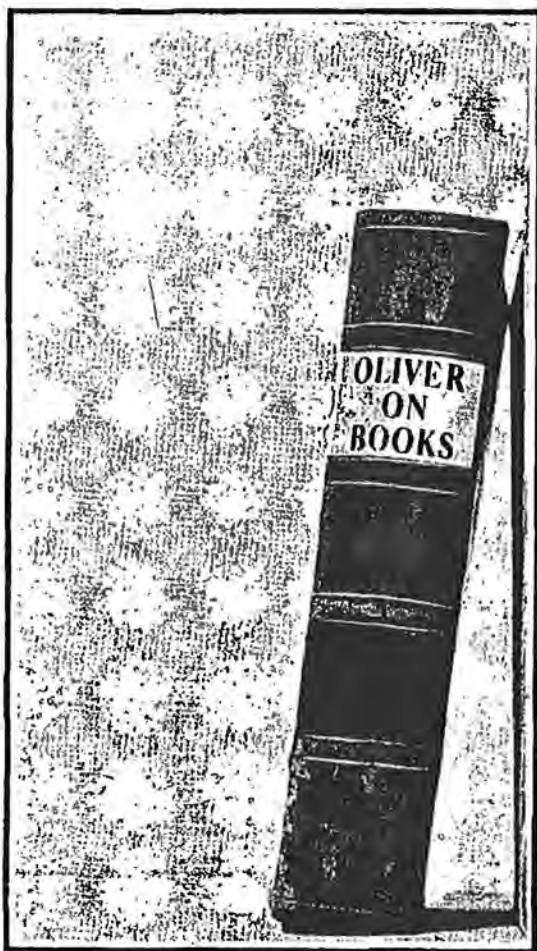
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### ***The Penkovskiy Papers***

by OLEG PENKOVSKIY, with an Editor's Note by Frank Gibney, a Foreword by Edward Crankshaw, a Personal Comment by Greville Wynne, and a General Introduction plus Introductions to each chapter plus Epilogue by Frank Gibney. Doubleday, New York; 421 pages, 20 plates, \$5.95.

SOME VERY strange intelligence reports are coming out of the Soviet Empire these days. Even experienced observers find them disconcerting, and the general public, so far as it hears of them at all, is bound to find them thoroughly confusing.

In January, 1961, for example, there arrived in the United States a Colonel Michael Goleniewski, who had been an officer in the espionage service of the

Bolshevik province of Poland and therefore under the direction of the huge organization of professional spies, saboteurs, and murderers that has its home office in Moscow and is generally known as the N.K.V.D., although the Communists change the official abbreviation so frequently that it is hard to keep up with them. Colonel Goleniewski provided information which resulted in the exposure of a considerable number of Bolshevik agents who were holding high positions in the armed forces of Great Britain, West Germany, Sweden, Israel, and other countries. He also recognized and identified many of the N.K.V.D. agents now on duty in "our" State Department and "our" Central Intelligence Agency. I understand from several reliable sources that the information given by Goleniewski was always found to be in complete conformity with everything known from other sources and absolutely accurate in every detail that could be investigated by the remnant of Americans who remain in intelligence work. Naturally, the Communist directorate in Washington has prevented action against its members and agents, who remain in their posts in "our" government, and for five years it has succeeded in preventing any significant part of Goleniewski's disclosures from reaching the American public.

Now, however, Colonel Goleniewski has come forward with a story that one would not be astonished to find in the pages of Alexandre Dumas or Eugène Sue, although Sir Walter Scott would have rejected it as too romantic and fantastic for the readers of his novels. This story was summarized in *The Herald of Freedom* for February 11, 1966, and, I understand, will be presented in much greater detail in a book to be published this coming summer or autumn. The story, in brief, is that Colonel Goleniewski is really the legitimate son of Czar Nicholas II—which



means that, in terms of monarchical theory and practice, he is now himself the Czar of All the Russias. Before all the evidence has been presented, it would be premature to pronounce on the possibility of this story's being true. That is a question of quite minor importance, for it requires no prescience to predict that the net effect of this claim will be to discredit *all* of Goleniewski's evidence in the eyes of the American public. It will thus shield the hundred or so N.K.V.D. agents in Washington whom Goleniewski identified in testimony which, I repeat, was found by every applicable test to be impeccably accurate. And it will, for all practical purposes, preclude effective exposure of those agents' superiors, the very highly placed traitors who are now engineering the Bolshevik takeover of our nation.

You figure that one out. There are at least eleven possible explanations.

Now we come to a different problem, less important, to be sure, but puzzling enough in its own way. The present volume purports to contain, sandwiched between thick slices of commentary and garnished with multiple prefaces, an English translation of a kind of diary kept by a colonel in Soviet military intelligence who is said to have begun transmitting valuable information to British and American intelligence services in April, 1961, and to have been arrested by his Soviet superiors in August, 1962, and executed soon thereafter. The colonel's name, by the way, would normally be transcribed as Oleg Penkovski; the odd spelling used in this book is evidently intended to be some sort of compromise between what is usual in English writing and an exact transliteration from the Cyrillic alphabet, which would require the use of diacritical signs above some letters.

The admittedly Communist press in this country has been screeching that Penkovski's diary is a "forgery," and, of

course, that cry has been dutifully reverberated by some of the echo-chambers that are called "Liberal intellectuals." That performance has sufficed to convince some Americans that the documents *must* be authentic and even to induce a few to read the many "introductions" uncritically and without remembering that their chief author came to his task fresh from the bilge-pumps of *Newsweek* and *Time*. That is deplorable naïveté.

In this crucial phase of the takeover, we cannot afford to be so credulous. We all have before us at this moment a clear example of Communist technique. The Bolsheviks ensconced in our colleges and universities, the squalid rabble that they train and incite in their classes, the vicious hoodlums that direct the Conspiracy's Civil Riots program, and the openly Communist press are all gabbling in unison for "peace" in Vietnam, thus performing for their masters the invaluable service of convincing gullible Americans that the International Communist Conspiracy is *really* opposed to the fake war that is being waged uniquely in the interest of that Conspiracy with the obvious purpose of delivering to it the whole of Asia after realizing such preliminary benefits as getting a large number of young Americans killed, demoralizing our army by forcing it to fight with one hand tied behind its back and its legs hobbled, and providing a pretext for accelerating the total and catastrophic collapse of our national economy that is scheduled for the next phase of our subjugation. It should be perfectly obvious to everyone that the Conspiracy is simply delighted with the situation in Vietnam so long as there is no danger that the Americans might *win* the war, as they could easily do in a few weeks or even days, if they fought for victory—a victory that the rulers in Washington have publicly and explicitly proclaimed that they have no intention of achieving

or even permitting. But nevertheless, many people are confused, just because the Conspiracy has ordered some of its low-grade stooges to clown in public.

It would be equally naive to accept the Penkovski papers just because known Communists tell us we shouldn't.

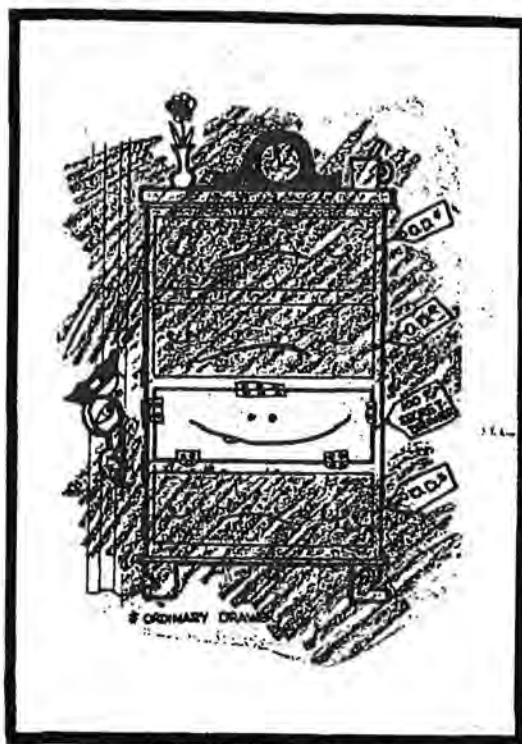
# I

EVEN APART from the not too-subtle propaganda in the manifold prefaces and interlarded "introductions," there are grave grounds for *a priori* suspicion in the text itself. Penkovski who had attained a fairly high rank in a second-string division of the Soviet espionage-and-murder business tells us (according to the present text) that he wrote this account of his career and sentiments, which is virtually a confession that he was a double agent working to overthrow Khrushchev and the whole Soviet hierarchy, on his own little typewriter and kept the accumulating and eventually bulky manuscript concealed in a "secret drawer" of his own little desk at home.

Now everyone knows that there is no such thing as a "secret drawer" that can escape an ordinary and relatively perfunctory search. And everyone who has gone beyond the kindergarten stage in intelligence work knows that the very first rule that an espionage agent learns is to reduce to an absolute minimum written documents that would incriminate him. He will have to make notes to assist his memory, but he learns how to make them in such a way that they will seem innocent (e.g., a record of personal expenses) if found in his possession. And even these he burns as soon as he can dispense with them. He may steal documents, but his first concern is to pass them on to his courier or "cut out" at the earliest possible moment, or, if there must be some delay, either conceal them in some place that cannot be associated with him or reduce them by microphotography to dots the size of a

pinhead, so that they can be hidden from all but the most minute search. All that is elementary procedure, and even tyros know it.

During the Roosevelt War, an American college professor and traitor occasioned some amusement to American counter-intelligence. He held a post in Washington that gave him access to secret information of some value to the Communists, and he had a fixed routine. When he left his office in the afternoon, he made a bee-line for a small



Penkovski's hideaway.

tavern (always the same one) where he had a cocktail with an alien, who was snugly settled in another department of government; and while they sipped their drinks, the traitor passed on whatever he had been able to learn or steal that day to harm the United States. It was therefore child's play to keep the pair under surveillance and often to learn precisely what had been betrayed to our mortal enemies that day. That, of course, was all that our counter-intelligence service could do, since any inconvenience caused to Bolsheviks would



have infallibly brought down on the heads of the Americans causing it the lightnings of dire vengeance from the White House. Not long after the war was over, the traitor left Washington and became the dean of a large college, an office for which his employers doubtless thought him better fitted. He probably never knew that he had served as a prime example of how espionage should *not* be conducted, and that, within a very limited circle, he enjoyed a modest fame as an egregious dunce. But I feel certain that even that numbskull did not keep in his apartment a notebook, to say nothing of a bulky manuscript, containing the entry, "Dear Diary: I am a Soviet agent and it's loads of fun."

There is a further consideration. If Penkovski went on accumulating this manuscript in his wonderful "secret drawer" for sixteen months, was it still there when the N.K.V.D. searched his apartment? If so, then we owe the text to the courtesy of the Soviet's most vicious beasts. If not, then how did it happen that Penkovski, after neglecting for sixteen months each of his many opportunities to transmit the completed parts of his memoirs to a place of safety in England together with the thousands of secret Soviet documents that, we are told, he copied by microphotography and sent successfully, suddenly decided to send them a few days before he was arrested—and send them (so far as we can tell) *without a single word of explanation*? Very odd, no?

It would not be fair to judge the authenticity of the text by what is said in the garrulous and devious prefaces and "introductions" in which it is enclosed, but I must note that these do nothing to assuage our doubts. It is distinctly implied that the manuscript was "smuggled out" of Russia after Penkovski was arrested in the autumn of 1962, and we are allowed to infer that that is why publication of so important a document was delayed for three years,

i.e. until long after it would have done the most good. It is explicitly stated that the manuscript came by the same route that brought us Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (see AMERICAN OPINION, February, 1959, pp. 25-29, 32-38). Well, that manuscript was probably "smuggled out" of Russia under the protection of N.K.V.D. agents charged with the responsibility of seeing to it that so valuable a piece of sucker-bait was not accidentally lost in the mails on its way to the United States. That vigilance was certainly justified, for *Doctor Zhivago* set the precedent for the publication of a shelf-full of contemporary Russian novels that prate about "brotherhood" and show the beauty and inevitability of world socialism, covering their real message with a thin icing of mild criticism of the shortcomings of socialism in Russia under some imperfect régime in the past, i.e., *before* the "transformation" of the Soviet which, according to our febrile "Sovietologists," takes place whenever *Pravda* and *Izvestia* change their editorial style.

And, as though that were not enough, one "introduction" solemnly assures us that Penkovski, a veteran of what is by far the largest, most ruthless, most vicious, and most adroit espionage ring in the world, "approached several American students in Moscow late in 1960" and asked them to deliver "a letter offering his services to the United States." After reading that, I expected to learn from the next paragraph that the wily Russian finally had inserted in the *New York Times* a classified advertisement reading:

*Russian junior executive in espionage agency in Moscow seeks employment as American spy. Wide experience. Excellent references. No salary expected. Satisfaction guaranteed. Write Col. O. Penkovski, c/o Russian Military Intelligence, Moscow, or telephone Moscow, 29-47-30.*

I was a little disappointed to find that the introducer either did not think of that or decided that maybe it would sound a little implausible.

But, as I have said, it is not fair to judge the text by what surrounds it. It is, I admit, *conceivable* that Penkovski did write out this confession and, with the cunning of a ten-year-old boy, store it in his "secret drawer." But if he was born that kind of individual, he had, I submit, about as much chance of becoming a Colonel in Russian Military Intelligence as a Pekingese has of becoming the leader of a wolf-pack in the frozen wastes of Alaska. And if, at an advanced stage of his career, the gears in his cerebral mechanism became so badly stripped as all that, it is likely that he would have inserted in the *Times* the advertisement that I have suggested above.

Should we conclude, therefore, that the diary is simply a hoax? By no means. If we advance the hypothesis that the talk about a secret drawer *à la* Tom Sawyer and several passages in which Penkovski sounds like one of Dean Rusk's press agents are interpolations, we must admit that the rest of Penkovski's text could well be genuine. It could represent either (a) comments made by Penkovski to British and American intelligence agents on the occasions when he met with them in London or Paris, or (b) memoranda that he included with the Soviet documents that he reproduced by microphotography and sent by British couriers to London, or (c) some combination of the two. Of these explanations, (a) would leave unexplained the portions of the diary that bear a date later than Penkovski's last trip (so far as we know) outside the Soviet Union. We are not told when Penkovski last dispatched materials to the West (the implications of various allusions in the "introductions" contradict one another), so there is nothing to exclude hypotheses (b) and (c).

### III

AT THIS point, before examining Penkovski's text, we may as well take a look at the rest of the sandwich, the extraordinary amount of prologue, interjected commentary, and epilogue that not only encompasses the text but divides it internally into ten layers. If the text, aside from a few interpolations, is genuine, this stuff explains why it was at last published. The significant parts, like the gold in auriferous quartz, are small in bulk, but you can't miss them if you look, and they are not very subtle.

The Foreword assures us that Penkovski "in working against his own government . . . did not regard himself as a traitor: like Fuchs, Nunn May, and others he acted out of a deep conviction that he was serving the cause of human progress." Neat, eh? There is, of course, no slightest reason to suppose that Fuchs and Nunn May were not typical Bolsheviks, that is to say, born criminals, their inhuman minds festering with millennial hatred of mankind. But that sly statement will lead many a thoughtless or uninformed reader to accept one of the major points of Communist propaganda, the delusion that the blood-thirsty Pithecanthropi of the Communist Conspiracy are dear little "idealists" instead of members of the species that is clearly described in Louis Zoul's *Thugs and Communists* (cf. *AMERICAN OPINION*, January, 1962, pp. 29-36).

The General Introduction repeats the old cock-and-bull story about the "missile crisis" and the "confrontation" between Kennedy and Khrushchev, but adds a novel touch. As we all know, late in October, 1962, just in the nick o' time to influence the Congressional elections in November, President Kennedy discovered a few of the missile bases in Cuba about which well-informed Americans had known for three years and of which photographs and



some specifications had been available in the files of American military intelligence for the same length of time. Having made this discovery, the valiant young man assumed an heroic stance and asked Khrushchev if he would please remove some missiles before the election in return for a promise to dismantle and remove all the American bases in Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean two or three months after the election. Khrushchev was glad to oblige. He had a few missiles or cardboard imitations thereof loaded on a Soviet ship that posed for photographs en route from Cuba to Mother Russia. The pictures were printed in the press, and American voters, duly crammed with rapturous admiration of their fearless Galahad, dashed to the polls and were had. In the next few months, the American bases were, in conformity with the secret promise, destroyed, thus handing the eastern Mediterranean over to the Soviet, and Khrushchev probably downed an extra vodka in a toast to the progress of "world peace." All this we know, but Mr. Gibney would have us understand that Penkovski supplied some kind of vital data that helped Kennedy make his discovery that there were Soviet bases in Cuba. That is possible, of course, and could have been done in several ways. Penkovski, for example, could have mailed Kennedy an issue of AMERICAN OPINION.

Again, in the General Introduction, Mr. Gibney, raising his eyes piously to Heaven, assures us that he is innocent of any intention "to worsen relations with the Soviet Union or to hinder the *understanding between the two nations* which our mutual [*sic*] nuclear knowledge makes *mandatory*." And to make sure that no hurried reader misses his major point, Mr. Gibney returns to his *Leitmotif* in later acts, e.g., in the Introduction to Chapter VI, where he tells us that Penkovski feared lest Khrushchev "half-wittingly plunge the world

into a war of *thermonuclear extermination*, a war which everybody would lose." Of course, you have heard all that many times *ad nauseam*. Every time you hint to a "Liberal intellectual" that the United States might have the power and the courage to defend itself, his conditioned reflexes work with the celerity of an automatic relay in an electronic circuit, and his loud speaker produces the very words I have quoted above or some slight variation of the standardized spiel.

What makes Mr. Gibney's recitation of some little interest is that he has presumably read the text that he slices up with his introductions, and in that text Penkovski makes it very clear that in Khrushchev's day the Soviet province of Russia did not have the capacity to wage a war of any kind, nuclear or conventional, against the United States. The regular Russian army had been thoroughly disorganized and demoralized by a series of "reforms" that Penkovski describes at considerable length, and if he is correct, my guess is that the Russian army would have found its resources strained to the utmost by an effort to hold East Germany against an invasion by the troops of West Germany. In one place, in fact, Penkovski, noting the sentiments of the people held captive in East Germany, wonders whether the Russian troops in that territory could get back home alive, should real trouble start. So much for conventional warfare. But what about those awful atomic bombs that go boom, boom?

Penkovski gives us a picture of frantic disorganization and frantic boasts to cover weakness. "Most of our missiles have not even passed the necessary tests, let alone reached the mass-production stage. There have been many instances of missiles and satellites exploding in the air or disappearing completely. . . . Often a new-model missile is still only in the testing stage—in fact, the tests

may have proved unsuccessful—but there he [Khrushchev] is, already screaming to the world about his ‘achievements.’ . . . Many of our big missiles are still on the drawing boards, in the prototype stage, or are still undergoing tests. There are *altogether* not more than a few dozen of these.” Some of these wonderful missiles, he tells us, blow up when they are launched; others turn around and hit Russian towns near the launching-sites; and the great new weapon which, according to Khrushchev, gave Khrushchev control of the world didn’t even get into the air: It remained on the launching pad until everyone decided that it was a dud, and then it exploded, reducing Marshal Nedelin (“chief of our missile forces”) and some three hundred other experts and technicians to mince-meat. Such, according to Penkovski, was the state of Russian preparation for nuclear war—largely a matter of plans for the future. “*We have no existing means to fight enemy missiles. Work is being conducted, however, in that direction.*” And so on. “There is a big lag in electronics.” “We do not have enough qualified personnel . . . the quality of production is poor, and the quantity is inadequate.” The “depot, which contained nuclear warheads, was flooded by water. Therefore it was necessary to move the warheads to another location.”

And here, my friends, is the real jewel in the lotus. The Minister of Defense directly under Khrushchev, and therefore the commander of *all* the armed forces of the Soviet Union, was Malinowski. You should remember that fact when you read Penkovski’s statement that “Malinowski has *two* launching pads. The launching capacity of each pad is *one missile per day.*”

Now I have not checked, but I am willing to bet that back in 1962, when Penkovski was reporting the foregoing facts, Mr. Gibney was trying to keep his teeth from chattering while he lec-

tured us about “thermonuclear extermination,” “a war which everybody would lose,” and “the understanding between the two nations which our mutual nuclear knowledge makes mandatory.” Of course, if you were to ask Mr. Gibney today, he would tell you that while Penkovski was right way back in 1962, Soviet Science has made such “epochal discoveries” since that time and built so many intercontinental missiles that *now*, at last, we have just got to cuddle up to the Soviets to escape “thermonuclear extermination,” *etc., etc.*

I do not know, of course, but it is entirely possible that Penkovski has some successor in Moscow who is at this minute transmitting to someone in British or American intelligence reports on how unprepared the Soviets are for anything like a serious war. And in 1970 some of that man’s reports may be published in a book—provided, of course, that some event, not now predictable, has occurred to prevent the Bolsheviks from completing by that time their occupation of the United States by internal subversion and manipulated elections. And if such a book is published in 1970 and shows that in 1966 the power of the Soviet was mostly bounce and brag, I predict that in 1970 Mr. Gibney, penning another sheaf of introductions, will still be wringing his hands and moaning about “a war which everybody would lose.” You can always be sure of one thing: “Liberals” never learn.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me remark that I do not deny that the military situation has changed greatly since 1962. The Soviet *probably* has made some progress. The United States is *certainly* much, much weaker, thanks to McNamara’s success in sabotaging our armaments, destroying our defenses, and demoralizing our armed forces. Within two years, at most, he will have succeeded in reducing us to a position of hopeless military inferiority to the Soviet Union and other colonies of the



International Communist Conspiracy. But that is not what Mr. Gibney is talking about: His mind, we may be sure, is too chaste to think about such things.

#### IV

WE HAVE said enough about the Introductions. Let us return to Penkovski's text and first define his position in the Soviet secret service.

In the opinion of some highly qualified observers, the supreme instrument of Bolshevik control in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is the Communist Security System (see *AMERICAN OPINION*, March, 1964, pp. 71f.), an organization so secret that we know little about it. It is like a huge animal whose shadow we have glimpsed indistinctly through a fog, and whose nature we must largely infer from the study of footprints which we assume it has made. Some observers, in fact, are not fully convinced that it really exists.

On the next level, so far as we know, is the infamous espionage, sabotage, and murder crew known as the Secret Police, or N.K.V.D. For some information about its lower echelons, see the very valuable book by Anatoli Granovsky, *I Was an NKVD Agent* (cf. *AMERICAN OPINION*, December, 1962, pp. 65, 67).

On the next level down stand four separate and distinct espionage agencies, each of which operates independently of the others and has no direct contact with them. All of these, however, are penetrated by the N.K.V.D., to which they are therefore subordinate, since they cannot in turn penetrate it. The officers of each of these four agencies know that they are being spied on by some of their colleagues or subordinates, who may be either agents that the N.K.V.D. has succeeded in planting in the organization or members who have been suborned by the N.K.V.D. One of these four agencies is Soviet Military Intelligence (called G.R.U.). It was subdivided into ten departments, to one of

which Penkovski belonged.

This type of organization, I need not remark, necessarily produces a great deal of duplication. For example, the Fifth Department of Soviet Military Intelligence maintains in large cities, such as New York and Chicago, a staff of well-trained assassins and saboteurs, who, by careful observation and rehearsal, know just how to cut off the systems that supply electric power and water, what bridges and buildings are to be dynamited\* at once, where fires are to be set, and what false alarms and diversions are to be produced. They, of course, take careful note of all new construction or remodelling of their targets, and keep up-to-date the list of persons who are to be murdered as soon as the signal is given. That is an elaborate organization, but a completely separate and independent duplicate of it is maintained by the N.K.V.D. It is conceivable, of course, that the Conspiracy, through yet another agency, maintains such gangs in triplicate, but observers gen-

\* Dynamite and similar conventional explosives are adequate for most operations of this kind, and have many advantages. No one seems to know whether or not the sabotage squads stationed in our cities have been given any of the portable atomic bombs, which, it is believed, have been shipped into the United States in the diplomatic pouches of the various Soviet Embassies and the "United Nations" since the last months of 1961. These devices were invented in the United States, of course, but it is believed that Soviet technology is sufficiently advanced to copy the models that were doubtless supplied from this country. It is known that these bombs are being manufactured in Soviet territory in Europe; what is not known is how reliable they are, i.e. how many of them will really work when put to use. The bombs are manufactured in two standard types; the more compact of these forms a package about eighteen inches long, fifteen inches high, and weighing about eighty pounds; its explosive power is approximately equivalent to that of ninety tons of trinitrotoluene. There are reports, which may or may not be reliable, that some of these bombs are equipped with detonators that can be actuated from a distance of several miles at any desired time after the bomb has been planted. It is likely that some of these devices will be used by the sabotage squads when the time comes, but primarily for the purpose of creating terror in the populace rather than for their explosive power.

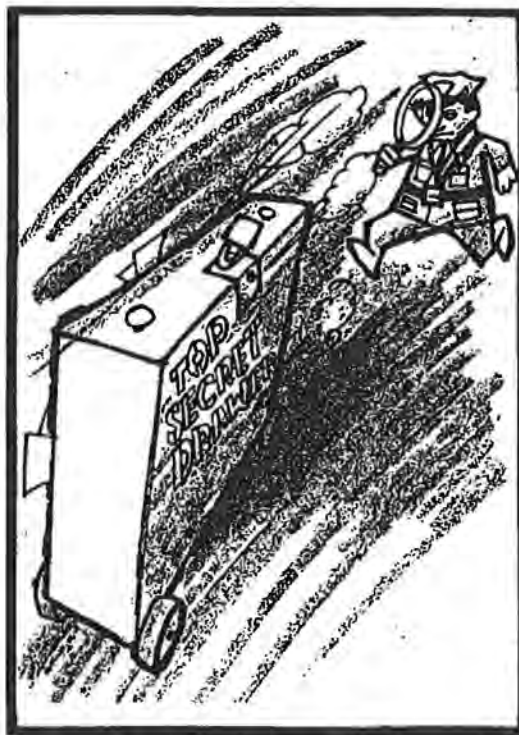
erally believe that there are only two such specialized gangs in each of our major cities, and that less important cities may have only one (i.e., either Military Intelligence or N.K.V.D.). In other kinds of activity, however, there may be greater duplication. For example, a factory manufacturing military equipment is likely to have the agents of at least three separate Soviet agencies in it, each group operating in ignorance of the other, except insofar as the ubiquitous N.K.V.D. has its own agents in the other two.

One of the subsidiaries of Soviet Military Intelligence is the Committee for the Co-ordination of Scientific Research Work. Its function is to conduct the scientific section of what Dean Rusk calls "cultural exchange," i.e., to send its spies into the United States and other countries in the guise of "visiting scientists," and to entertain the scientific suckers who visit Russia, extracting all possible information from them, planting in their minds the ideas that the Conspiracy wishes them to retail in their own countries, and always looking for persons who can be recruited or entrapped into the Soviet espionage and sabotage agencies. Of one of the three divisions of this Committee, Penkovski was Deputy Director. He was therefore in a position to know much, but not everything. And had he held a much higher position, he still would not have known everything.

There is one fact that you should always bear in mind when you consider the reports of intelligence operatives, whether they are defectors from the Soviet or retired or indiscreet members of other agencies. All organizations that deal with secrets are compartmentalized and try to limit the dissemination of information within their own ranks on the basis of what is called "the need to know," a rule which means that no one, whatever his rank, is supposed to have access to information that he does not

need for performance of his officially assigned and specific task. Of course, this rule is quite elastic in practice, partly because any one area of work is certain to be affected by developments in many others, so that a strict compartmentalization would paralyze the whole effort, and partly because men in intelligence *will* talk to one another. (Note how much of Penkovski's information he obtained from such conversations, rather than officially.)

Let me illustrate this by an imaginary



The smuggling process.

example. I select at random three facts that are matters of common knowledge now, but were highly secret in 1945: (1) Alger Hiss was a traitor; (2) Roosevelt arranged for the destruction of the American fleet in Pearl Harbor; (3) Germany was for a time ahead of the United States in development of the atomic bomb. Since there is no necessary relation between these three items, you will see why, among the persons in intelligence work who knew any of these facts, there were, comparatively, many who knew some one of the three,



a smaller number who knew two out of the three, and relatively few who knew all three. But there are secrets within secrets. A man who knew all three of the items as a matter of course could still be completely ignorant, for example, of (a) who ordered the murder of General Patton, and (b) what, if anything, was covered up in connection with the decease of President Roosevelt. Such secrets are very jealously restricted to persons who *dare* not disclose them to anyone, and even highly placed officers in intelligence services would have no means of ascertaining the facts, even if they felt an unhealthy desire to do so.

But that is not all. A man who knew the three facts that I listed as examples would *necessarily* have been ignorant of a great many *lesser* secrets because they did not happen to come his way (officially or unofficially) or, if they did, he ignored or forgot them as irrelevant to his own interests. All intelligence services store information, but even to officers with unlimited access, those files are like a large library: No man knows more of it than what he has occasion to look up, and no man tries to remember more of what he does read than the essentials which he thinks he may have need to know in the future. There are, furthermore, certain special precautions that are always taken to protect operatives "in the field," i.e. in enemy or potentially enemy territory. The identity of such agents, whether members of the intelligence service operating abroad under some disguise or suborned citizens of the foreign country, is kept, so nearly as possible, an inviolable secret, and no responsible intelligence officer would even inquire concerning the identity of the agents involved in an operation in which he was not directly participating himself, unless he had come upon very weighty reasons for believing that one of them was a double agent.

These facts must be kept constantly in mind when one reads any report on

intelligence work—including the parts of the present volume that may have been written by Penkovski. For example, Penkovski says that he knew that the photographs and models of the famed Russian *sputnik* were fakes, because he knew officially that the exhibits sent to the London Exhibition in 1961 were fakes produced by a corps of technical specialists from the N.K.V.D. as propaganda. He was told by those specialists that the fakery was to prevent disclosure of the structure of the real *sputnik*, and (according to our text) he believed them. But that does not by any means indicate that the specialists were not deceiving him to preserve the secret of a more elaborate and successful hoax. Penkovski (according to our text) knows that many attempts to launch an artificial satellite failed, but he evidently believes that Yuri Gagarin made his excursion into space and even gives us the additional information that the *sputnik* carried a great deal of photographic equipment, although the Soviets were denying that it had—because they did not want to give the Americans the idea. (Of course, that denial could also have been motivated by their inability to produce fake photographs that would look as though they had been taken from the supposed altitude.) Now—unless we postulate that the Russians were trying to create the impression that the supposed flight of Gagarin was a hoax—there are good reasons for believing that (1) they did not succeed in sending a man into space and returning him safely to the earth, and (2) the Gagarin who appeared in public was an actor who either did not learn his lines very well or had been given a very poor script.

The passage in Penkovski's memoirs about Gagarin could be an interpolation made for the express purpose of quieting American doubts about Soviet achievement, which have been growing as hoax after hoax has been exposed

since the publication of Lloyd Mallan's *Russia and the Big Red Lie* (reviewed in AMERICAN OPINION, September, 1959, pp. 51f.). But if the passage is authentic, it proves nothing, because Penkovski would not have been told about such a hoax anyway—certainly not in his official capacity, and probably not by his friends, even if they knew the truth. Such a hoax would and could be kept ultra-secret, whereas such an event as a failure that shredded a Field Marshal and three hundred technicians would necessarily become known in the circles within which Penkovski moved.

The same considerations, *mutatis mutandis*, will apply to some other strange statements in the text, such as the reference to a "break" between the Soviet Union and Red China. If Penkovski wrote that, he may have believed it at the time; he was not in a position to know better. As for his story about the famous U-2, well, if he wrote it, it may be significant that he was not allowed to see Powers, the pilot of the plane. He tells us that the U-2, when it encountered the shock waves produced by fourteen missiles, "simply fell apart" in the air and "disintegrated." Then he says a little later that "examination of Powers' plane produced no evidence of a direct hit; nor were there any missile fragments found in it," by which he evidently means the plane itself, not the hundreds of fragments that would have been scattered over an area of many square miles had a plane disintegrated at the very high altitude at which it was supposedly flying. If this apparently inconsistent information was given to Penkovski, it could have been given to cover some vital secret that the N.K.V.D. wished to conceal from the subordinate agency.

We must also beware of drawing conclusions from Penkovski's silence. It is highly probable that some parts of his story were deleted for "security reasons" before publication, and some deletions

are admitted in editorial notes. But even if we were certain that there had been no deletions, we should have to remember how much he would not have known.

For example, it is not an argument against the authenticity of the memoirs that Penkovski seems to know nothing of the fact that his own agency, Soviet Military Intelligence, succeeded in the early 1950's in planting in one of the arteries of American Military Intelligence a "spotter," whose function it was to recruit for Soviet Military Intelligence *within the ranks* of our own service, and who served in that capacity for many years with great success and complete impunity. (Many of his recruits are undoubtedly still in our service, including the most secret part of it, and by this time some of them must have attained fairly high rank.) For the reasons stated above, Penkovski would not have known of that success.

Penkovski seems to know nothing of a Communist Security System: That is not an indication that such an organization does not exist, for if it does, its existence would have been concealed from even the head of Soviet Military Intelligence, to say nothing of men so far down the ladder as Penkovski. Again, Penkovski (assuming that his text has not been tampered with) seemed not to suspect that there were Communist agents in very high positions in the British and American governments. That proves nothing. If, for example, the British Foreign Minister and the American Secretary of State had been agents of Penkovski's own organization, Soviet Military Intelligence, that fact would, as a matter of course, have been most carefully concealed from *everyone* in the organization except its head and, perhaps, his deputy; communications between the head and those invaluable agents would have been arranged in such a way that even the minimum of subordinates necessary for

that purpose would not know to whom orders were sent or from whom reports were received. If the Foreign Minister and Secretary of State were agents of the N.K.V.D., then *no one* in Soviet Military Intelligence would have had the slightest knowledge of that fact. And if there is a Communist Security System, it would be most likely that Communist agents in such very high positions would be directly responsible to it; in that event, it would be *possible* that no one in the Soviet Union—neither the head of the N.K.V.D. nor the current holder of Khrushchev's job—would really *know* of the connection, however much he might suspect from the conduct of the Minister and Secretary.

## V

THE TEXT probably contains some interpolations. I have already indicated some passages that are probably spurious, and I confess that I read with deep suspicion the short paragraph in which Penkovski, writing in 1962, predicts that the Russian military power, so inadequate and disorganized at that time, would become very formidable by 1965—the year, the very year, of which the winter was to see the publication of his book! But the greater part of the text could be authentic. And the most important part of the text *is*, in a sense, authentic, whether Penkovski wrote it or not.

The most important part of the text contains nothing that is novel—nothing that all serious observers of the Communist Conspiracy have not known for many years—nothing they have not labored for years to teach the seemingly irresponsible majority of the American people.

(1) *All* diplomatic, consular, and economic missions of all Soviet countries, all purchasing offices, tourist agencies, and commercial representatives in the United States (and other nations not yet officially taken over) are simply

centers of espionage, sabotage, subversion, and assassination. All the members of their staffs, without exception, are either agents of one of the Soviet secret services or are directly under the control of such agents. That fact has been known for so many years that it is difficult to believe that it is not known to every member of the U.S. Senate which, as I write, is being subjected to great pressures to permit such legalized nests of murderers, saboteurs, and spies in every large American city.

(2) *Every* Soviet scientist, artist, tourist, or student who travels abroad is either (a) an agent in the employ of one of the secret services, or (b) “co-opted” by one of them, that is to say, pledged to spy to the best of his ability during his trip and to report what he learns to the agents in whose charge he is placed, his diligence in such work being stimulated by both the prospect of a cash reward for services rendered when he returns to Soviet territory and the certainty that if he does not produce some results, he will not again be permitted to leave the land of Socialism.

(3) *Every* American who visits Soviet territory for any purpose is (a) carefully studied for possible recruitment as an agent of the Conspiracy, (b) pumped for information in many subtle ways by trained agents, including scientists, artists, and the like, and these efforts are supplemented by frequent examination of his baggage and even of the contents of his pockets and by listening over the microphones that are, as a matter of course, installed in his hotel room or apartment, and (c) subtly prodded into forming the opinions and impressions that it is planned to have him retail to his friends and neighbors when he returns home.\*

\* This, of course, raises the question, What about Lloyd Mallan? Is it possible that the Russians deliberately deceived him to conceal the real accomplishments of their great scientists in laboratories that he was not allowed to visit? Of course, that



(4) Soviet operatives destined for the United States are first given the very elementary instruction contained in the primer† that is, except for a few pages, translated in full in the present volume. They are then sent to some Soviet establishment in this country, usually the "United Nations," for experience in American life and customs and for further training on the spot before they go to work. Such an operative usually becomes a "case officer," that is to say, the straw boss and supervisor of petty spies recruited in the locality to which he is sent for duty. The latter are not Amer-

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is possible, although it is hard to see what would have been gained at that time by contradicting the propaganda about the "miraculous Russian accomplishment" that Communists and "Liberals" were so assiduously spreading in this country. There is, however, one consideration which does strongly support Mr. Mallan's conclusions, the crudity of Russian industry. Mr. Mallan reports that, at the time of his visit, the most expensive Russian watch was "totally unpredictable" as a timepiece, and the Russians had not yet succeeded in manufacturing a ball-point pen that would work. Penkovski reports that the Soviet hierarchy had him purchase when he went to England such things as fountain pens, and that the choicest gift he could bring back for a general was an electric razor. As everyone knows, Russia is electrifying all of its trunk-line railways, but the Soviet industrial colossus evidently cannot design or build electric locomotives; It buys them from France and West Germany.

Naturally, one must consider every possible explanation. Could the Soviets have really done spectacular things and then distributed photographs that were faked for the purpose of creating the impression that the real achievements were hoaxes? Such a trick could have only two purposes, either (a) to create a false sense of security among Americans, or (b) to produce uncertainty and confusion. If (a), then it would be much simpler to keep the achievements secret by simply not announcing them or by reporting failure. If (b), then surely the Bolshevik agents and their puppets in Washington and the Press would not strive so hard to suppress *completely* every exposure of Soviet hoaxes. (Cf. *AMERICAN OPINION*, March, 1966, pp. 2-4, 10-11.)

† That it is a primer is evident from the amusing and somewhat naïve description of life in the United States, and as such the text may be accepted. There is some rant about "imperialists" and "war-mongers" in the manner of the *Worker*, but only a little and such tripe is, I understand, conventional on the lower levels in Russian training programs, where it may be useful as a means of identifying pupils stupid enough to believe it.

icans, but they usually are persons born or naturalized in the United States (there is a great difference). Most of them are just eager to make a fast buck; others are "intellectuals." As Penkovski remarks, persons with "democratic leanings" are usually characterized by such "political naïveté" that they "can be easily recruited."

(5) Communist supervisors, especially those in charge of secret operations in the smaller American cities and towns, are carefully provided with a convincing "cover," whether they are legally citizens of the United States or have been sent in from abroad. A very common means of doing this is to provide the agent with a prosperity that *could* be the result of his own industry, ingenuity, and good luck. He may, for example, come to a community (or return to it, if, perchance, he was born there) and establish a tailoring shop or buy a small newspaper on the verge of bankruptcy or take over a tavern that is losing money; he prospers—with, of course, the secret aid of the Conspiracy—and will in a few years acquire that standing and influence that comes naturally to men who rise in a community because they work hard and know how to make wise investments.

(6) Communists are not human. All intelligence agencies are ruthless in the sense in which all military men must be ruthless: The very nature of the work requires the expenditure of human lives to preserve the nation. But the intelligence agencies of civilized countries, like the armies with which they are associated, show consideration, wherever possible, for their own men, and especially for those who have risked their lives "in the field." Naturally, they may resign when they wish, and there are often arrangements for retirement on comparatively generous terms: The Communist attitude is summarized in Penkovski's casual remark: "One of the tasks of the intelligence service is to re-



move agents who are *not needed any more* by murdering them, poisoning them, or by some other means."

(7) Even Soviet espionage officers of Penkovski's rank do not understand their own success. When Western nations show a willingness to "negotiate to reduce tensions" or chatter about "disarmament," Penkovski says, "We in the GRU [Soviet Military Intelligence] sit around, talk, and laugh: What fools, they believed us again!" And what seems to him even more amazing is success in espionage: "Where are the counter-intelligence services of the Western countries? What are they doing? Everything is being stolen right from under their noses, and they are doing nothing to fight the Communists." Penkovski, you see, was so far down in the organization that he knew nothing of the extent of Communist control of the governments of those Western countries. He seems not to have suspected that those countries, or at least some of them, were led to preposterous "negotiations" not by fools who believed absurdities, but by shrewd traitors. He apparently did not know of the process that began when Roosevelt ordered the entire files of Naval Intelligence, probably the most complete in the nation on the subject of Bolsheviks, home-grown and imported, destroyed to protect his pet rodents—a process that has, with slight variations, gone on ever since. He did not know that it was governmental policy to reduce anti-Communist counter-intelligence to an ever diminishing number of aging men who, with ever increasing despair in their hearts, try to keep records and make observations, but are utterly powerless to do anything "to fight the Communists," even though they are very well aware that "everything is being stolen right from under their noses."

As I have said, there are parts of these memoirs that are undoubtedly authentic, even if Penkovski never

wrote them—even if Penkovski never existed. They—so far as they go—state merely what careful observers of the Communist Conspiracy have long known. Those parts could have been written by a person in the position that Penkovski is said to have occupied, and I have been at pains to show that even their obvious limitations can be reconciled with the assumption that they were so written, and that some of the limitations are precisely what we should expect in a man holding such a position and so offer some support for that assumption.

The circumstances surrounding the strangely belated publication of these *Papers* obviously make it impossible for any responsible critic to affirm or deny that they were written by a junior executive in a Soviet secret service who had decided to transmit information to the civilized world. My own impression, for what it is worth, is that the text has been tampered with in many places with interpolations and deletions, but that most of it was written by Penkovski.\* This seems to me more probable than the alternative explanation: that the whole was forged, and that the certainly authentic information about Soviet operations and the probably correct information on other points, including personalities, was cunningly included as bait to induce informed anti-Communists to accept such notions as the reality of a "break" between the two Com-

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\* In forming this impression, I take into consideration the statements that Penkovski was the son of a First Lieutenant in the White Russian Army, who was killed in action a few months after Penkovski was born in 1919, and that this fact, easily overlooked in a time of revolutionary anarchy, was unknown to the Bolsheviks when he entered school eight years later; he was educated entirely in Bolshevik schools. Thus he would not have known that the monsters who captured Russia in 1918 had been sent and financed from Germany and the United States, nor would he have known that the governments of the United States, England, and France were partly responsible for the eventual defeat of the White Russians. *Se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

munist provinces of Russia and China.

If the volume is read with critical understanding by enough Americans, it may do a great deal of good. It would be a nice irony if the people who have for so many years resolutely closed their ears to the American generals and statesmen who, at great personal sacrifice, have most earnestly tried to tell them the facts of national life, should at last be convinced by a Russian of whose very existence they have no definite proof.

## VI

SINCE WE have had occasion to discuss the parts of the Bolshevik network in this country that are mentioned in the *Papers*, we should perhaps add that the reader should not be terrified to the point of despair by the vastness of that network, by the number of its agents in our society, or by such details as the sabotage squads that are waiting for the signal in our cities. Our plight is obviously growing more desperate with each passing year, but just as McNamara has *not yet* succeeded in disarming us to the point of complete defenselessness, so the efforts to destroy our counter-intelligence services have *not yet* been consummated.

I shall give you an illustration. Not long ago a citizen of a Communist province was recruited by one of the arms of the N.K.V.D. for work in this country for which the person had certain special qualifications; the offer was accepted because it seemed a providential opportunity to escape from the joys of socialism. The recruit was accordingly des-

patched to the United States with orders to report to an N.K.V.D. operative in this country, who is one of the most prominent citizens of a small but prosperous town in what is one of the more conservative states in the Union. After arriving here, the recruit sought out one of our counter-intelligence agencies to disclose the presumably startling and sensational information that the "civic leader" so respected and influential in his own community was a secret traitor. Counter-intelligence expressed gratitude and affected interest; as a matter of fact, the agency had known all about the traitor for years and knew precisely what he was doing, but was powerless to act. Counter-intelligence could only add another line to a voluminous dossier, curse with expert bitterness, and wonder how long it would be before its files were destroyed and its members liquidated.

The incident that I have recounted is not mere coincidence. I do not suggest that all Bolsheviks are known to what remains of American counter-intelligence or even that most of them are, but I feel confident that *enough* of them are to make it possible—*still* possible—to paralyze the apparatus of sabotage and violence overnight, and to hunt down most of the more covert subversives in six months, if God, in His infinite mercy, should by some miracle bestow on the American people the rational will and the political power to preserve their nation and their own lives.

What miracle? God only knows.

## CRACKER BARREL

■ EAGLE ROCK—A lot of folks feel the United States is fresh out of "agrarian reformers." But that's just not so!

Out in Congressman Jim Utt's district in California there's a fellow who owns an orange grove and the government is paying him thirty-five dollars an acre for not growing cotton in it. But you ain't heard nothing yet. The agricultural board tells him he could grow a second crop of corn, after the cotton (which he did not grow) is harvested. And the government will pay him an additional thirty-five dollars for *not growing the corn!*

If that ain't re-forming the science of agriculture, I don't know what is. Why don't they pay Beatle impersonators for not singing?

1966 Dwight Claar Associates

—JACK MOFFITT

## “THEY PAUSED TO REMARK”

The fathers did not assume that any appreciable number of the electorate would ever slip so far away from the actualities as to believe that a government thousands of miles away would know better what the locality needed, than the locality itself. . . . The experience of the ages tells only one story: that Liberty lives only where there is local self-government; and that she lives best and fullest where there is the largest measure of such government. (1938)

The move to take the capital the citizens have saved will be disguised as a means of alleviating the needs of the poor, or equalizing the burdens of government, of sharing the wealth. When that comes, the conquest of the citizens will be complete; tyranny will be enthroned and rule till liberty is again brought back across many bloody fields of battle. Thus will history again repeat itself. (1938)

The Communists are said to have hundreds planted in our governmental offices. Given a sufficient number of trained men to man the essential departments of government, and add to that a great proportion of the people dependent upon the government for their sustenance, they figure that at the opportune time the overthrow of Constitutional government and the establishment of their kind of despotism will be an easy matter.

Whether this treasonable dream shall be realized will depend wholly upon how well those who see its coming shall be prepared to meet it. (1939)

There is an infinity of difference between the sack of flour that comes over

the back fence from your next door neighbor and a sack that is sent to you from Washington. The one hallows the giver, and raises and enspirits, with the human love and sympathy behind it, him who thankfully eats it; the other debauches the hand which doles out that which is not his, and embitters and enslaves him who with maledictions devours it. (1939)

An uncorrupted citizenry builds a great State; no State ever built an uncorrupted citizenry.

No man is politically free who depends upon the State for his sustenance. (1939)

I am an American because . . . I believe that the assumption by branches of government or by officers of rights or powers not specifically conferred upon them is usurpation, and because impeachment or other trial lies against any officer who so usurps rights or powers not specifically conferred. (1940)

I do know that the Communists and their co-conspirators . . . have planned out what postwar America is to be, and I also know that unless the rest of us are awake, they will have their way. . . . There is evidence to support the charge some make that the revolutionists have placed their members in key government positions, getting ready for the take-over when the critical moment shall come. (1945)

*The above statements, followed by the year in which each was made, are the words of the Honorable J. Ruben Clark Jr. — who is honored on the cover of this issue of AMERICAN OPINION.*





# FEDERALIST

■ IN NOVEMBER of 1947, former Undersecretary of State and Ambassador to Mexico J. Reuben Clark Jr. delivered an important address critical of government policy. He concluded his remarks by saying:

*Someone will, at this point, play the ace question, with that smug finality that always accompanies it, —What would you do?*

*I frankly answer, I do not know, for I do not know the facts. Furthermore, a critic with no authority or power in a situation, and from whom is withheld a knowledge of the facts, is under no obligation to propose an alternative. He may rest by pointing out defects in policy.*

*On the other hand, I say, give us the facts, all of them hiding nothing, and we shall tell you what to do. As one American citizen, I dare government to give us the facts, all the facts. . . .*

*We, the common people, have not been told the facts for years. . . . We are not being told the facts. We can only surmise. But give us the facts and we will answer. And in our multitude of counsel you will find wisdom.*

Conservative Americans will readily recognize that Ambassador Clark's words are fully as significant and appropriate today, if not more so, as they were when spoken in 1947. Our government not only continues to hide facts from us, but it officially proclaims its

right to lie to us when it desires.

In a secret memorandum smoked out by *United Press International* in January of 1950, the State Department advised its *attachés* abroad to sell the public the idea that Formosa was of no value politically, geographically, or strategically. Later, Secretary of State Dean Acheson was confronted with this memorandum as a contradiction of what he was saying at the time, and his only defense was that the State Department had been lying when the memorandum was sent out in order to save face if Formosa did fall, and that lying was an acceptable instrument of diplomatic policy under such circumstances.

We find the same sort of official sanction of government lying in the more recent words of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester during the Cuban missile "crisis" of 1962. On December 6, 1962, Sylvester spoke to a Sigma Delta Chi dinner in New York City. His remarks were taped by the American Broadcasting Company, and transcribed by the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The transcript was entered in the *Congressional Record* on January 24, 1963. Sylvester was asked a question regarding a particular falsehood that had been given to the Press by the White House, and here is his full and complete answer:

*Let me begin by saying that as the Assistant Secretary of Defense I do not comment on anything about the President or the White House. So if*



*we can get that aside and talk to the general point, it would seem to me basic, all through history, that a government's right—and by a government I mean a people, since in our country, in my judgment, the people express, have the right to express, and do express every 2 and every 4 years what government they want—that it's inherent in that government's right, if necessary, to lie to save itself when it's going up into a nuclear war. This seems to me basic—basic.*

So having established the government's self-proclaimed right to lie, let's move on to some specific illustrations of how that "right" has been exercised.

#### **Otto Otepka**

In order to prove that State Department officials had lied under oath concerning the clearance of security risks, State Department security officer Otto Otepka supplied the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with certain documents relating to loyalty cases. Immediately some strange things began to happen to Mr. Otepka, including the arranging for a wiretap on his telephone.

The State Department's Chief of Security at the time, John F. Reilly, ordered a technician to convert Otepka's phone into a listening device. In July and August, 1963, both Reilly and the technician denied, under oath, that they had arranged the wiretap. On November 6, 1963, however, when evidence conclusively proved otherwise, they wrote letters of "clarification" to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee admitting that they had arranged for the wiretap. In the furor that followed, Reilly was eased out of the State Department—but was later hired by the Federal Communications Commission as a trial lawyer at a salary of \$17,000 a year.

#### **Premier Lee**

In 1960, a Central Intelligence Agency

representative in Singapore was caught trying to buy information from a Singapore intelligence agent. An un-named American official offered Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore a bribe of 3.3 million dollars as ransom for the release of the C.I.A. agent.

When Prime Minister Lee made the affair public in August of 1965, our State Department issued a flat denial of the whole thing. Faced with the State Department denial, Premier Lee announced that not only did he have a copy of a letter of apology for the incident from Secretary of State Dean Rusk, but he also had a taped recording of conversations with the C.I.A. agent. This forced the State Department, on September 1, 1965, to admit that it had lied. As a report in the *Washington Post* on September 2, 1965, put it, "With a flush of embarrassment, the State Department acknowledged yesterday that Secretary Dean Rusk apologized to the Singapore government in 1961 for 'improper activities' by American officials there the year before. On Tuesday, United States officials categorically denied the same charges. . . ."

#### **Michael Struelens**

Michael Struelens entered the United States on October 3, 1960, to serve as head of the Katanga Information Service. He enjoyed a friendly relationship with the State Department until that Department began, in September of 1961, to openly support the United Nations' war against Katanga. When Struelens put out information critical of the U.N.'s action against Katanga, the State Department turned against him.\*

Information was leaked to the Press that Struelens had been involved in an effort to arrange recognition for the government of Katanga by bribing officials

\*Some observers have noted a parallel between the treatment of Struelens in 1961 and 1962, and the present treatment being accorded Rhodesia's representatives in Washington.

of the government of Costa Rica. On January 3, 1962, Lincoln White, Director of the State Department's Office of News, told a press conference that the State Department believed Struelens was involved in such an attempt.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigated the Struelens case. Struelens testified under oath that he had never been involved in any such attempt. And the State Department could not come up with any evidence to support its charges, nor was any evidence found elsewhere to support the Department's charges. The Subcommittee concluded, therefore, that Struelens' "testimony must be accepted since it is unrefuted."

#### Wieland

In July of 1965 the State Department gave security clearance to William Arthur Wieland, the controversial career diplomat who suppressed information about Castro's Communist background during the rise of the Castro regime in Cuba. By way of justification for its clearance of Wieland, the State Department issued a press release which flatly stated that Wieland had been cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Many newspapers carried stories, based on the release, reporting that the F.B.I. had cleared Wieland. Actually, the F.B.I. had not cleared Wieland, and the State Department's assertion was a falsehood. Proof that this was not just a mistake is shown by the fact that the release had earlier been circulated and approved within the Department without the reference to the F.B.I. Someone inserted the falsehood thereafter, and this led Undersecretary of State for Administration William J. Crockett to take issue with the release. Undersecretary Crockett wrote:

*I am most unhappy with the changes made in the second paragraph of our agreed press release on*

*William A. Wieland. The reasoning behind the second paragraph was to exclude mentioning the FBI. Now I note the paragraph reads "... included the FBI." The paragraph as it now reads infers that the FBI cleared Mr. Wieland. This is not the fact. . . .*

Wieland, by the way, was later assigned by the State Department as a supervising consul general in Canberra, Australia, at a salary of \$24,000 a year.

#### General Walker

During the federal government's invasion of Mississippi in the fall of 1962,



Give us the facts.

General Edwin A. Walker was arrested and charged by the Justice Department with inciting rebellion, insurrection, and seditious conspiracy. His sanity was also questioned by a government psychiatrist who had never seen him, and Walker was thereafter rushed to a mental prison and put in solitary confinement.

Since that unhappy time, General Walker has won a sizeable lawsuit against a national wire service which

lied about his role in the Mississippi riots. But our concern here is with government lies.

The government was lying when it impugned Walker's sanity. A *U.P.I.* dispatch on November 21, 1962, quoted the psychiatrist who examined the General following his incarceration as stating that Walker was "functioning currently at the superior level." And you can bet that if General Walker was sane *after* his ordeal, he was sane before as well!

The government falsified when it accused Walker of rebellion, insurrection, and seditious conspiracy. Proof of this came in January of 1963 when all of the charges against Walker were dropped by the government.

Did Edwin A. Walker receive any apologies from the Justice Department for the outrageous and criminal treatment he had received? To the contrary, a *U.P.I.* dispatch in the Santa Ana (California) *Register* on February 16, 1963, quoted Attorney General (now U.S. Senator) Robert Kennedy as saying, in regard to Walker, "I have no apologies to make for his arrest, the mental examination or the presentation (of charges) to the grand jury." And if that wasn't bad enough, Kennedy also had the audacity to add that "The action was taken for the protection of General Walker."! With protectors like Robert Kennedy, who needs assailants?

#### Schlesinger

On November 28, 1965, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. admitted, during his appearance on N.B.C.'s "Meet the Press," that he had lied to the Press during the 1962 Bay of Pigs fiasco. As Schlesinger put it:

*... at the time of the Bay of Pigs, various people who were likely to talk to the press were given a cover story, a cover story designed to minimize the significance of the operation involved saying that only three or four hundred men landed rather than*

*1,400 and so on. That cover story was a misrepresentation.*

Schlesinger rationalized his falsifying by saying that the *New York Times*, at about the same time, had suppressed a "fairly accurate" news story about the invasion by one of its reporters, and was therefore also guilty of "misrepresentation." (Any moral difference between withholding information and falsifying it seems to escape Mr. Schlesinger.) Schlesinger added, significantly, "I, at least, had the excuse that I was working for the government."!

He then tried to excuse himself and the *New York Times* by saying:

*I prefer to think that both the Times and I, in our exercises in misleading, were actuated by the same motives, that is, a sense, mistaken or not, that this was in the national interest to do so. [Emphasis added.]*

\* \* \*

WHEN THE philosopher Aristotle was once asked what those who tell lies gain by it, he replied, "That when they speak truth they are not believed." With the increasing amount of deception foisted on the public by some government officials, is it any wonder that an increasing number of Americans lack faith in these leaders?

There will be liars, but they should be shamed. What will become of a people which permits liars to be honored while men of honor are lied about? And what will become of a nation whose government embraces lying as a policy?

To paraphrase a well-known Washington editor, a government that proclaims its right to lie to the people in a time of crisis will never lack for either lies or crises.—REED BENSON AND ROBERT LEE FROM WASHINGTON





## FROM THE NORTH

■ IN OUR ideological spectrum we place at one extreme the anarchist, who demands the utter abolition of government and complete emancipation of the individual from every form of control—political, social, and religious. In the dream world of this extremist every considerable enterprise would be carried on by a loosely organized group of dedicated individuals, the membership of which would be constantly changing as individuals were drawn by interest or whim into other enterprises or into idleness. Liberty would be unlimited; but food might be scarce, and order and safety impossible.

At the other extreme is absolute despotism, to which the Great Society is being led from poll to poll by the Great Exponent of Presidential Power. Russia got there more quickly with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: an absolute central government governed by a self-perpetrating oligarchy of ruthless criminals who rule by fear and terror through a central police force. Under such a system there is no individual liberty or civil right for anyone, not even for an oligarch — who can be removed from office or from life by purge or pick-axe without any process of law. The Soviet despotism even affects a Constitution replete with rhetoric, but it means as little as ours does to the Warren Court.

The history of liberty, on the other hand, is very much the history of local self-government; despotism can come only when local self-government is destroyed. For example, by the end of the

Thirteenth Century all of the most important English towns had secured the rights of justice in their own courts, of self-taxation, and self-government in local matters. Their liberties and their charters made the way of the tyrant as tough as the states, counties, cities, and towns could have made it for the enemies of our Republic. It was easier by far for the Tudor and Stuart Kings to take the Parliament and the courts by the ears than it was for them to make the City of London or the meanest borough whimper into docility. There they found that *lex* was *rex* but *rex*, which translates into king, was not *lex*.

Jack Cade, a primitive Fifteenth Century communist ("all the realm shall be in common") cast the shadow of the Great Society before him: "All shall eat and drink on my score and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers and worship me their lord." He could perhaps have deposed Henry VI, packed the House of Lords, and burned the Tower; but it was the beginning of his end when on London Stone he declared himself Lord of the City and commanded that, at the city's cost, the panurgent-conduit run nothing but claret wine. The city's cost and the conduit were the city's business and so Jack would have found had the King's men not put an end to him. For beyond doubt stubborn counter-revolution most certainly would have plagued him had his bureaucracy usurped jurisdiction of the muckheaps in Henley Street or ousted



local ale-tasters of their power to test alcoholic contents.

Of course, the preservation of local self-government was a principal concern of the Constitution of the United States, which expressly provided in the Tenth Amendment that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people. These reserved powers made every state sovereign and independent with freedom to exercise every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated to the United States or expressly prohibited to the states.

Nothing could be plainer than these words, and we all understood their exact meaning until the Warren Court slipped into a false morass called sociology and came out soaking wet. Now, to borrow a sentence out of context from the Old Soak: Everything is uncertainty and guess work, everywhere, and intellects is cracking under strains on all sides. And so cracks the Constitution and its time-tested division of the powers of government.

### Attack On The City

The powers and jurisdiction of the states were to a very large extent distributed by them among counties, towns, and cities, thus creating many smaller areas of self-government. These still remain as nuts for the totalitarians to crack even after the states have been destroyed and become administrative agencies in a unitary system.

A city is a corporation chartered by a state for definite, limited purposes with definite, limited powers. Ideally it should be governed by officers elected by property owners and other local taxpayers. In practice we have been led by a near worship of democracy into universal suffrage. This is as out of place in a city as it would have been in Dean Swift's ideal Commonwealth where if allowed to vote the Yahoos would have

outgalloped the Houyhnhnms 100 to 1 in every election. But we have it, and with it came all our woes — partisan politics, corrupt machines, racial voting blocs, fraud, graft, and extravagance.

Even with universal suffrage the cities might have had a chance for good government if they had not been burdened with the support of the public schools and the vast welfare programs. These and similar enterprises should have been placed in separate authorities with revenues of their own. The revenues of a city should for the most part come from taxation of real-estate within its border and its expenditures should be strictly limited to providing the services which benefit real-estate directly. A list of such services is a rather long one and some of them might be debated, but everyone should agree that, applied concretely to Boston for example, the list of services directly benefiting real-estate would not include the public schools or our unnecessary, demoralizing, frightfully extravagant welfare program. These with other extraneous expenditures, with which the city should not be burdened, now constitute two-thirds or more of Boston's budget and place an intolerable burden on real-estate and on all who live or do business here. Boston's tax rate in 1965 was \$115 per \$1,000 of assessed value, and \$130 is predicted for 1966.

Of course no city governed as we are can ever retreat from fiscal insanity or introduce any sizeable economy, except in the police force. The public schools and welfare are politically untouchable and so our cities have had to beg; first for state aid, and then for federal aid, to supplement their revenues. That of course is the end of local self-government and the beginning of the rule of totalitarian bureaucrats, who decide how much of the funds at their disposal will be withheld if the cities do not accept their dictum. — ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY FROM THE NORTH ■ ■



FROM THE

# South

■ WASHINGTON, as everyone knows, is a two-faced town. One face is turned toward the sticks, to discern straws in the wind as to what the yokels will think. The newer face looks to New York, to find out what the image-makers have decided the population *shall* think.

New York, in turn, may look to Cambridge or Princeton, to Paris or Moscow, for ideas, for direction. But executive headquarters of the style-and-pattern industry—in the intellectual as in the garment division—is in New York.

As budget officers in Washington are already concerned with estimates for Fiscal Year 1968, so thought-makers in New York are now preparing smart opinions for calendar 1967 and 1968.

What's the emphasis in advanced thinking? As reliable an indicator as you are likely to find is the *New York Herald Tribune*. Less comprehensive than the *New York Times*, its focus is sharper. Not in the class with the *Times* at being all things to all men, the *Trib* concentrates more on doing the thinking man's thinking for him.

This exclusive diurnal selected for its front page on Sunday, February sixth, just three stories: (1) Johnson's "summit" meeting in Hawaii, (2) an installment of the Soviet lunar myth, and (3) an account datelined Jackson, Mississippi, with the ineffably witty headline: "Mississippi Police Dry Society's Big Wet Fete."

Illustrated by an A.P. Wire Photo of a case of whiskey, three men in tuxe-

dos, and one tall man in a topcoat and a snap-brim felt hat, this story gave picturesque details of a Deputy Sheriff's raid in legally dry Mississippi on the plush Jackson Country Club just at the outset of the "King's Reception" following the annual Junior League Carnival Ball, the principal regular social event of the Mississippi capital city.

I submit that there is something more to it than meets the eye, when Megalopolis classes a remote constable's descent on a hick dance (not my judgment, but New York's) with *Luna 9's* descent on its celestial target (again not my judgment, but New York's) and L.B.J.'s descent on the Island Paradise to arbitrate the fate of nations.

The *Herald Tribune*, by the way, did not just flip and substitute noise for information. That the episode at the Jackson Country Club means something—if only we can decode it—is evident from its also rating a front-page story in the *New York Times* of February sixth, and extended treatment in the February eleventh issue of *Time*. It was news on N.B.C. What goads these mastodons of the media to maul Mississippi in a matter, superficially, so inconsequential to them?

*Time*, to give the devil his due (the cliché is not thoughtlessly chosen), suggests the explanation: "Though they have the only statewide prohibition statute in the U.S., Mississippians have no trouble getting a drink in 59 of 82 counties." (We explained *that*, though without the numbers, in "The Sheriff"

article in the February *AMERICAN OPINION*.) What is important about *Time's* statement is the little word *only*. The Establishment is sick and tired of Mississippi's having or being the *only* anything.

The states must be standardized! No state can go on being different from any other state in any significant respect. And Mississippi has been about the worst, in recent years, in marching to its own drum. Mississippi, by ridicule and otherwise, must be whipped into line; and there are, of course, Mississippians who will cooperate. The final subjugation of a state — psychological as well as physical — is indeed an enterprise worthy to be classed with other current lunacies, celestial and trans-Pacific.

Nor should the power of the media majors in and over the provinces be minimized. The incumbent Governor of Mississippi, Paul B. Johnson, actually got his job through a photograph in *Life*, though at the time no one supposed that the Luce publications had any intention of helping him. One of the preliminary attempts to place Negro James Meredith on the Ole Miss campus in September of 1962 occurred when Ross Barnett, then Governor, was not present and Paul Johnson, then Lieutenant Governor, was. Johnson, a wiry but rather slight man, physically blocked the path of Meredith's federal escort, burly Chief Marshal James P. McShane. (Whatever happened to *him*, by the way?) A *Life* photographer caught the confrontation quite dramatically. In the published picture Johnson looked as implacable as Wyatt Earp or Matt Dillon. Reproduced in a whistle-slick political ad with the slogan, "Stand Tall With Paul!" the *Life* shot was political sudden death for P.B.J.'s adversaries in the Democratic primary and the general election of 1963—J. P. Coleman (now a federal judge) and Republican Rubel Phillips. Johnson was a hero to all red-

neck Mississippi segregationists—right down to the day of his inauguration.

Since then, he has been concerned to "change our image." Because the old image was as bright as any red-blooded "reactionary" could wish, it followed that Paul, to the chagrin of many who voted and even campaigned for him, was some kind of "progressive."

Today somehow, the thing has got around to the prohibition issue. Mississippi must be purged of "hypocrisy." Now a hypocrite is one who pretends to be virtuous while secretly being vicious. You can eliminate hypocrisy in either of two ways: (1) by ceasing to practice the secret vice, or (2) by throwing off the virtuous pretense and being openly vicious. It is the second course, naturally, which "progressives" find attractive.

It is still kind of hard to figure why New York progressives are so deeply interested in a prohibition hassle in Mississippi. Part of the explanation we have mentioned—a basic lust for a perfectly homogenized nation, completely responsive in predictable ways to programmed stimuli from the great agitprop center in New York. Diehards in Mississippi are static in the system — diehards on prohibition as on revolutionary racism.

The raid on the Jackson Country Club suggests a fissure within the "power" structure of Mississippi itself. Prominent citizens were made to look ridiculous. Nobody looked very good. That explains why New York might enjoy it. New Yorkers enjoy thinking about how stupidly hypocritical a bunch of hicks can be. Look at those dumb Mississippians! Hoist with their own petard of lousy liquor laws! A man could die laughing!

New Yorkers are laughing? Why are they laughing? Spectators of the farce of prohibition, they solemnly stage the farce of revolutionary racism.

A farce? A riot. A scream.—MEDFORD EVANS FROM THE SOUTH



# IN THE HEMISPHERE

■ WHY DOES Communism, in spite of our overwhelming superiority of strength and resources, repeatedly "out-smart" us in Latin America?

The question torments intelligent Americans who confront the spectacle of such American debacles as those in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

An inescapable answer is to be found in the self-imposed rigidity of our Hemispheric policies. We face an adversary who, in action, is always protean and resilient. He has many and changing faces and slogans. Schooled by Lenin, the Communists never hold onto an instrument when it fails to work. They try something else. Too often, the United States opposes such Communist opportunism by some unreal, fixed, text-book position from which we naively and obligingly announce in advance that we will not retire.

While the International Left presents a continuously shifting and mystifying target, shrewdly designed to divide American public opinion, the United States handcuffs itself by setting up some unworkable and invariably Leftist goal or instrumentality such as the Alliance for Progress, the Organization of American States, "democratic free elections" (even for illiterate populations), the inevitable "social revolution in Latin America," *ad nauseam*. We hobble ourselves from the start by taking an unchangingly Leftist position in a continuously changing Hemisphere which is begging to move to the Right. It is the old story of the impossibilist mind bumping itself against a world which refuses to conform to its simplistic idea of how the world ought to be.

A painful example of this strange

American attitude in Latin America was Senator Robert Kennedy's recent statement to the students in Chile that the United States will, in case of intervention, "get out as soon as there is an election, even if a Communist is elected." It is incredible that a man who stood next to the foreign policy summit, in his brother's Administration, should make such a self-defeating declaration to Latin Americans. It makes a fetish of a single method—the election. It is an open invitation to Communist strategists in Latin America to support crypto-Communist candidates, such as Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic or Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro in Guatemala, and to secure American acquiescence on the grounds that the candidates were "democratically" elected.

## More "Liberal" Claptrap

Apparently trying to top Robert Kennedy, President Arturo Umberto Illia of Argentina has come up with the weirdest statement of the month. President Illia says, according to the *New York Times*, that the Communist Conspiracy in the Americas is now abandoning insurrection and is supporting Rightwing military takeovers. According to his involved reasoning, a military regime creates a favorable climate for Communist action. This is simply the old nonsense, dressed up in a new form, that rulers like Romulo Betancourt, Juan Bosch, and (of course) Arturo Illia are the best safeguards against Communism. Illia's statement is *ex parte*: There are no perceptible signs that Communism is supporting the militarists anywhere. Quite the contrary. It also flies in the face of all recent experience in



Latin America. You don't have to be a genius to recognize that it is not the militarist but the "Liberal" regime which softens a nation for a Communist takeover. Communist President of Guatemala Jacobo Arbenz would never have been able to turn his country over to Communism in 1952 if "Liberal" President Arevalo had not set the stage for him and selected Arbenz as his successor. In Brazil, it was not the militarists but the corrupt "Liberal" Government of Communist Joao Goulart which was on the point of plunging the nation into complete Communism in 1964 when the army stepped in and put a stop to it. It was not a military Government but the ultra-"Liberal" regime of Communist Juan Bosch which was rapidly preparing the way for Communism in the Dominican Republic when the army intervened.

Even in Venezuela, which is often eulogized by superficial writers as a model anti-Communist and "Liberal" country, Communism never attained the power and threat which it now exercises until Romulo Betancourt and Raul Leoni had stuffed the Venezuelan public mind with their social revolutionary double-talk. Under the army-supported regime of Perez Jimenez, Communism was an insignificant factor in Venezuela. No, Illia's labored argument simply doesn't wash. His bad advice is undoubtedly designed to help him survive the worsening situation in Argentina, where he is threatened by both the Peron Left and the Ongania Right.

Argentina may soon desperately need an alert anti-Communist army. The Peron Party, which is supported by the outlawed Communists, is creeping up on the soft-handed Illia and preparing for a new test of strength. The Peronists are pepped up by their recent sensational victory in the northern province of Jujuy. Although Jujuy was already Peronist territory, the Peronistas polled a

startling increase in their already formidable voting strength — electing a Peronist Governor and capturing seventy-one percent of the vote. This result, on top of the heavy Peronist gains in the 1965 legislative elections, is chilling Illia's hopes. With a sixty-one percent rise in the cost of living during the last two years, President Illia's unpopularity grows. All that saves him is the army, and now he is foolishly antagonizing it. Illia is in trouble.

### Colombia

The question which disturbs Colombia today is just how ex-President Gustavo Rojas Pinilla will make good his boast that he will be back in the Presidential Palace in 1967. Under the terms through which the Colombian Senate permitted his return from exile in 1958, he is barred from *election* to office.

Disregarding this disqualification, Rojas Pinilla is campaigning actively for the Presidency. A skilled demagogue, he is winning a formidable following among the low-income discontented. If he makes a big showing in the Congressional elections this year, as is expected, he believes that the popular demand for his return to the Presidency will be irresistible. If the ruling coalition tries to bar him, Rojas Pinilla frankly states that he will launch a revolution.

The unpopular Valencia regime has failed dismally in its promise to wipe out Communism. It has still not eliminated ex-bandit and now Communist Pedro Marin, who rules an Andean sanctuary of seven thousand people in the 1,863 square miles of Marquetalia. This enclave is an unconquered threat to both Colombia and Venezuela. After nine years of weak, indecisive government in Bogota, many Colombians would welcome another "strong man" regime, even from a Leftist like Rojas. Look for big trouble here. — HAROLD LORD VARNEY FROM THE HEMISPHERE



## *from* LONDON

■ AS THIS issue of AMERICAN OPINION reaches its readers the British people will be learning — appropriately on All Fools' Day — whether they are going to continue to be governed by King Folly himself . . . as they have been for the past sixteen months. For Harold Wilson decided to take the plunge, to call a General Election, before the coming effects of the 1966 Budget can be felt. That Budget, after all, is quite certainly going to be a disastrous one — and even more so as foreign capital has been steadily leaving London ever since the announcement of the General Election, with its ghastly prospect that Labor will be returned with an increased majority.

Certainly Childe Harold hated having to break his reiterated pledge that there would be no early election. But a very large number of elderly Laborites holding safe seats had announced their intention not to seek re-election. That meant that an equal number of Laborite stalwarts were anxious to achieve election to the vacated seats while the going was still good — which it wouldn't be after the April Budget. So when Childe Harold called his legions together from all over the country, before his trip to Moscow, the eager beavers were all for a pre-Budget election. And because Harold is an inveterate ditherer he unmade up his mind and yielded to those who were urging him to risk his precious Premiership.

Then he went off to Moscow, was given the red-carpet reception and send-

off, and returned empty-handed after yet another of those exercises in futility for which he is known in the Chancelleries of the world. Fortunately his return coincided with the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, the tyrant of Ghana; so Harold was able to look purposeful about that, instead of forlorn about his Moscow fiasco.

As this dispatch is written, prognostication is a pretty fruitless operation. British General Elections are so very much affected by very local issues; and by-elections like the recent one at North Hull mean little as indicators. The Attlee Administration of 1945-1950 created an all-time record by not losing a single by-election — but at the General Election of 1950 they lost 178 seats, and had a majority of only 8 in the Commons. One would have to be an oracle to call this one in advance.

And yet, by assiduous TV appearances with sympathetic interviewers (who know that Childe Harold can distribute knighthoods to staunch Leftists), and by looking earnestly into the TV cameras and talking frankly and sincerely about something else whenever a really awkward question is put to him, Mr. Wilson has achieved what looks at the moment to be an unassailable lead over the Tories.

Oddly, however, for such an assiduous practitioner of TV winsomeness, he tried like mad to avoid a "TV confrontation" with Ted Heath, the new Tory leader. This is indeed strange, for Wilson was most anxious to have such

a confrontation with Sir Alec Douglas-Home before the 1964 Election. This was to be a repeat of the famous Nixon-Kennedy "confrontation" — and Childe Harold expected to win hands down; hence his eagerness. Now he has been saying that poor dear Jo Grimond, the Liberal leader, should be in on it also. He made no such condition in 1964. So one has the impression that perhaps Mr. Wilson thinks he might take one almighty hiding if a professional like Heath started talking about Labor's record of broken domestic pledges, its dismal Commonwealth performance, its ineffectiveness in foreign affairs, its policy of high taxation and high prices — and its even bigger and more costly promises designed to spur votes in the present Election.

At any rate, Labor is going to be very vulnerable in a number of industrial sectors — in the aircraft industry and the naval dockyard areas, for example. So it could turn out to be a very close-run affair again, with something like the same stalemate. In which case the public is going to be very sick of Mr. Wilson. And, of course, after the reaction to his April Budget sets in, Mr. Wilson may get very sick of the public.

One thing is certain. There will be a financial crisis. Whenever a General Election is declared in which it looks as if Labor will win, foreign capital flows out of London—as it did last time. Then, the Governor of the Bank of England had to go cap in hand to the financiers of European nations which had been defeated and pretty well razed to the ground during the war — to raise a huge loan. This was when Minister of Economic Affairs George Brown had cause to regret his reference to "the Gnomes of Zurich." For, of course, the foreigners only lend their money on strict conditions that Labor does all the things it says it will never do — or have to do — like raising the Bank Rate or expanding taxation, or anything nasty.

But maybe this time the foreigners won't be so anxious to send their capital back to London. After all, they saw Mr. Wilson's Government "freezing" Rhodesian funds in London; this may make them reflective about Mr. Wilson once he gets into real difficulties. And they may feel that Mr. Wilson and Chancellor of Exchequer Callaghan will be forced to devalue the pound-sterling come next autumn — as Sir Stafford Cripps did, after saying nine times that he had no such intention. (Naturally, one wouldn't expect Sir Stafford — or Mr. Wilson, or Mr. Callaghan — to announce such a thing in advance; but since all the foreign financiers know the score as well as did the Kaldor-Balogh brain-trust they just play the waiting game.)

An awful lot will depend on how the Liberals vote. Jo Grimond, the Liberal leader, has been very vehement about getting really tough with Rhodesia. Traditionally, foreign affairs make no impact in a British General Election. But it is clear that the enormous majority of people in Britain would like to get the Rhodesian affair cleared up peaceably and talks started with Ian Smith's "regime" or "government." The Tories have at last come out in favor of resuming talks at once; and Ian Smith has said quite simply that only Wilson's obstinacy and vanity prevent this. If the Liberals do on the national scale as they did in North Hull, where the Tories held their 1964 poll steady but the Liberals switched massively to Labor, then Wilson will go in with a real working majority, and presumably feel free to "get tough" with Rhodesia. By then it may not matter very much. What will matter ultimately will be the financial crisis which will build up very rapidly.

Ah, well, we shall know the answers on All Fool's Day.

—FRANK MACMILLAN FROM LONDON ■■

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FROM  
THE  
**CONTINENT**

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■ LET US do a bit of spot-checking this month and see what comes up.

Belgium is a prime example of the miseries that accompany socialist conquest-by-division and, as such, provides an object lesson for America.

The Harmel Government—which on May 23, 1965, entered a precarious state of pre-eminence erroneously referred to as power—lasted less than nine months. In all political combinations in Belgium a first consideration, if the monarchy itself is to be preserved, is that the socialists be given preponderance in the Cabinet. Fifteen years ago the present King's father, King Leopold III, had the temerity to oppose socialist Paul-Henri Spaak for the good of his country—and as this report is written Leopold III is watching oranges grow in Menton, France, while Mr. Spaak entangles Belgium. Let the socialists find themselves in the opposition and there is trouble.

On January 26, 1966, the first 175 Flemish miners marked by the Government for unemployment received notices that the supra-national European Coal and Steel Community Commission had decided to shut down their mine. With the mine closed, their community, Zwartberg, would die. They were promised work elsewhere, but they did not want to leave their homes. Accordingly, they struck. Government forces fired on the strikers.

Then more trouble started when labor unions and political Parties decided to hammer the country's doctors into line. What the socialists demand is free medi-

cal service with no strings attached, because such a platform will draw more Party members, hence more dues—which will mean more money for political activity—with the country and the doctors paying the cost.

Within each clawing Party and the all-powerful unions the two ethnic groups—the French-speaking Walloons, generally atheistic and far to the Left, and the Flemish, generally religious and conservative—grew further and further apart. With the Zwartberg miners convinced that their mine was being closed because they were Flemish, and raising the very devil about it, and the doctors refusing to become simple functionaries and also threatening strike, the Harmel Government gave up. But the King refused his Premier's resignation.

It was a dramatic moment. From his palace, second in grandeur only to Versailles, King Baudoin looked out over his tortured country. For years heavily unionized and industrialized Wallonia had scorned hard-working Flanders as an area fit only to furnish house-maids, before whom one spoke French to prevent them from knowing what was being said. But the Walloons overstepped themselves as their unionized labor power grew. Industries began moving to Flanders. In the population race, also, Flanders moved ahead of Wallonia. Soon, for demographic reasons, and to provide more building sites for industrialists disgusted with Walloon labor demands, the leaders of Flanders were demanding a new divi-



sion of territory. On both sides the hatred, resulting from a century of Walloon arrogance and a resurgence of Flanders' assertion of independence, grew. Today it is tearing the country apart.

Sitting down at his desk, King Baudoin wrote a last appeal for democratic government.

The King's fears were well-founded. Flemish and Walloon in Belgium have arrived at the stage to which the Communists are working to bring blacks and whites in America. Only an outside solution that is neither Flemish nor Walloon will at this stage be acceptable to both sides. This is just what the Common Market Commission has been waiting for.

**Holland.** Over the damp forest surrounding Soestdijk Palace hovered a dark shadow as the March marriage of twenty-seven-year-old Crown Princess Beatrix and Herr Claus von Amsberg, of Germany, approached.

Within a few days of the official *Gazette's* "We, Juliana, by the Grace of God" message announced the forthcoming marriage, a hitherto fervent royalist named Mr. Arend Dunnewind stepped into the news with the launching of a Dutch Republican Party aimed at abolishing the monarchy. In Holland's ten-Party system Mr. Dunnewind's new entry, with some thousand members searching for candidates to enter in the next national elections, may seem unimportant. However, conservative republican though the Dunnewind movement is, its prime objective coincides with the principal aims of Holland's Left-wing leader, Mr. G. M. Nederhorst, and his socialists: to discredit the monarchy.

If there is anything to be learned from Socialist Nederhorst's assumption that the royal house is destroying itself and that publicity will speed the end of the institution, it is that no amount of courting will make socialists forget their ultimate goal or win their gratitude.

Prince Bernhard might as well never have embarked on the long series of Bilderberg meetings that have helped only the Nederhorsts of the West, and which have prolonged his own political and social tenure not at all.

**Sweden.** For seventeen years Mrs. Nancy Ericksson, a grey-haired Swedish socialist, sat in her country's Riksdag, the Swedish parliament, obsessed with a single thought: the ousting of her country's King.

Other Swedish socialists went about their business: namely, fanning premature independence movements in colonies that were not even self-supporting, voting Swedish troops for the U.N. attack on Katanga, and awarding Nobel "Peace Prizes" to nonentities whose irresponsible declarations would not make the morning papers without "Nobel Peace Prize Winner" before their names. ("Nobel Peace Prize Winner" is equivalent to "Baron" in the new nobility of the Left.)

Year after year Mrs. Ericksson made political capital out of rejecting her King's invitation to the annual Riksdag dinner. But this year she figured Sweden was ripe for Stage Two. She circulated a petition calling for abolition of the monarchy, which thirty-two of her important friends in the Social Democrat Party immediately signed. Now she has introduced a motion that the Riksdag committee charged with constitutional reform examine her project. King Gustav VI Adolpf is eighty-four; Prince Carl Gustav, his heir, is twenty and barred from succession till he is twenty-five. "A temporary vacancy of the throne," Mrs. Ericksson explained, "would permit us to resolve the problem with elegance."

That is all for this month. The trend is a stepped-up drive for ground-clearing, removal of everything that might stand in the way of a Marxist world.

—HILAIRE DU BERRIER FROM THE CONTINENT ■ ■

# PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS

■ OUR CRITICS never tire of decrying our radicalism, our negativism, and our intransigence. They are convinced that we are a remnant of the distant past—the political and economic Neanderthals, as Harvard Professor Schlesinger called us.

## Our Beliefs

We do not answer such outbursts of rage and frenzy. Confident of our righteous cause and trusting in the wisdom of the Almighty, we go about our daily tasks. When called upon to summarize our political, social, and economic position, we usually point at our greatest concern: individual freedom.

All our efforts and actions can be deduced from this statement of fundamental objectives: We believe that freedom is most conducive to not only material well-being but also individual morality. Wherever freedom was tried, it released new individual energy, initiative, and creativity. Where freedom was tried during the last two centuries, the standards of living of everyone — especially the working population — soared to unprecedented heights. And last but not least, freedom has proven to be most conducive to moral living, for the bright light of freedom shining through unhampered competition, free communication, education, and a free Press, does not tolerate the corruption of men that is so prevalent in all totalitarian regimes. Only in a free society does virtue reap

its own rewards.

We readily admit our “radicalism,” for we readily concur with Senator Goldwater’s famous election dictum: “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice . . . moderation in pursuit of justice is no virtue.” We also are “negative” towards ideas and policies that aim to destroy us. As we are negative to cancer so are we negative to all schemes of collectivism and totalitarianism. We also confess our “intransigence,” for we believe in the irreconcilable conflict between the forces of collectivism and our civilization.

We do not tire in defense of our freedoms, and we defy all those who would like to deprive us of our freedoms. We seek no enemies, but do not flinch from confrontation with all enemies of freedom, whether foreign or domestic. This is why we are locked in a decisive battle with Communists, socialists, and pseudo-liberals. They would not leave us alone nor respect man’s freedom and dignity.

It is easy to distinguish an enemy of freedom from its defenders. The enemy usually sets out to criticize and find fault with his fellowmen. He is a sceptic or cynic who is convinced that most individuals lack intelligence, strength, or integrity to seek and find their own happiness. He is convinced that most men must be guided, cajoled, forced, and controlled in their search for their own good. The enemy of freedom be-

believes that freedom is prone to breed inequities, exploitation, and slavery. The champion of freedom, on the other hand, always defends the native ability of man, his ingenuity and integrity. He resists the arrogance of all attempts at universal planning, that is, all attempts at pretending that we are as God. He believes that 100 million adults are far more competent to plan and shape their happiness than a few Washington planners who like to play God.

As individuals we endeavor to live a moral life, respecting the rights and property of our fellowmen. But as political beings acting through our duly elected representatives the enemies of freedom do not hesitate to deprive their fellowman of income and property. The majority claims impunity and legality through majority decision. We may observe Party and power politics, log-rolling and handouts as manifestations of this dual code of morality. As political beings many Americans feel neither shame nor guilt when they rob Peter to pay Paul. And Paul is enthusiastically voting for the robbery which he calls "redistribution."

We are convinced that economic prosperity obtained in an unhampered economy flows from labor and effort in the service of our fellowmen. Contrary to socialistic slogans the free economy leads to worldwide cooperation and division of labor. Freedom has given rise to intricate cooperation between countless producers in commerce and industry, all laboring in the service of consumers. The consumer is king who issues his production orders with every penny he spends. Through buying or abstention from buying consumers determine what is to be produced, the quantities and qualities, and who is to produce it. Consumers even determine the incomes of every producer, whether he be a teacher or laborer, entertainer or industrialist.

We do not apologize for the Ameri-

can prosperity, for it was earned through hard labor, thrift, and investment. For more than 150 years our Republic safeguarded individual freedom and private property, which permitted our forebears to save and accumulate, build and create. We are the beneficiaries of the freedom they guarded so jealously. This is why we oppose all ideas and policies that are designed to undermine our heritage.

The enemies of freedom, on the other hand, often deny our material well-being, pointing at our slums and poverty. They are utterly ignorant of the economic conditions in the rest of the world, and fail to comprehend the reasons for what they call "American slums." Or they credit our wealth to "enlightened" and "benevolent" Administrations, from Presidents Roosevelt to Johnson. In other words, they credit the great dissipators of wealth for our remaining possessions. Or they laud "our natural resources" as the cause for our relative affluence. They forget that many nations all over the globe enjoy the same or even greater abundance of natural resources, and yet live in desperate poverty and deprivation. And also, the enemies of freedom often apologize for our high standards of living with admissions of imperialism and exploitation. They advocate worldwide redistribution of our wealth because they accept the Marxian criticism of our order.

And also, we believe that political and social freedom cannot for long endure without economic freedom. Socialism, which constitutes government control over our economic lives, inevitably gives rise to political tyranny and slavery. The economic serf tends to become a political pawn in the hands of the economic czar or dictator. This is why we labor so fervently for the preservation of economic freedom.

— HANS SENNHOLZ





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# SNARK HUNTING

## Lewis Carroll On Collectivism

E. Merrill Root is the brilliant author of two best-selling books, *Collectivism on the Campus* and *Brainwashing in the High Schools*.

Professor Root may also be America's greatest living poet.

His work has appeared in *Human Events*, *Christian Economics*, *Blue-*

*book*, *National Review*, *Freeman*, *New York Times*, *Literary Digest*, *New York Herald Tribune*, and elsewhere.



■ ALL connoisseurs of the great Victorian Period in English Literature know Lewis Carroll (the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson). The child who has not been brought up on *Alice in Wonderland* and the even greater *Alice through the Looking Glass* is an underprivileged child. The adult who has not found in these subtle pages a safari into the hinterlands of metaphysics and the unexplored continent of the logic of words, and the secrets of the soul, suffers from sub-marginal poverty of the intellect. And there is another of Lewis Carroll's works that is so darkly prophetic and so brightly illuminating that it is like a preview of the central illusion and compulsive mania of the Twentieth Century. It is a masterpiece of nonsense that reaches the center of sense, a *jeu-d'esprit* of the canny subconscious, a creation as symbolic as Melville's *Moby Dick*. This is the "Nonsense Epic" (as Carroll called it) which is titled *The Hunting of the Snark*.

For readers of AMERICAN OPINION,

*The Hunting of the Snark* is a feast of wit, a flow of reason—and a bonus of glory. It is a preview from the Victorian Period of all that we criticize in the Twentieth Century, and an uproarious confirmation of all that we believe. Lewis Carroll here foresaw in prophecy, and realized in a masterpiece of art, the central illusion and the lethal mania that afflicts "Liberals," socialists, and Communists today. He wrote, in delicious artistry, the case-history of collectivism, the nonsense epic of all our contemporary Snarkery. He saw it not through a glass darkly but through a telescope clearly. *The Hunting of the Snark* is the reduction of collectivism to absurdity, a humor-salient critique of this age of ours in so far as it is in the hands of the fanatics of abstract subjective illusion and mania. Therefore for us it is peculiarly pertinent and preeminently delightful; and my review of it here may clarify the issues and enhance our convictions, through the beautiful sanity of nonsense.

### I

*The Hunting of the Snark* is a nonsense epic in eight "fits."\* "Fits," of course, is what Carroll's Humpty Dumpty (in *Alice through the Looking Glass*) calls a "portmanteau" word, i.e. a word with two meanings packed into a single container. "Fit"—or "fytte"—was an old classical word, used seriously in older poems and comically by Byron, that meant "canto." But Carroll uses it here with that meaning *plus* a

\* Carroll calls it "An agony in eight fits"!

second, or punning, significance; a "fit" here is both an aesthetic division and a psychological spasm. A *fit* as defined in the *American College Dictionary* is "a sudden, acute attack or manifestation of a disease." And to Carroll, as he projects for us these hunters of the Snark, each "fit" is indeed a *fit*... a new "sudden, acute attack or manifestation of a disease." What word could better apply to the mania of collectivism than the term *fit*?

The substance of the story is the story of the Twentieth Century—so far. The poem describes what the wisest interpreters of Carroll (Sydney Williams and Falconer Madan) express thus in their *Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson*: "The impossible voyage of an improbable crew to find an inconceivable creature." Where could one find a better definition or description of—*collectivism*, the Snark of the Twentieth Century?

What is the Snark? It is a subjective dream-ideal that has no basis in objective reality, an "ideal" that has become the compulsive mania of a fanatical, hypnotized group. It is only a dream—and a bad dream. It is a compulsive nightmare that has become the waking hypnosis of a group of fanatics. It is a group-mania, so unconsciously compulsive that its participants are incapable of any criticism of their own hypnosis with it, or of the illusion of their dream; theirs is a fanatical obsession which narrows life to one compulsion—the *pursuit of the Snark*.

The Snark is a creature of Utopia—that is, a creature of Never and Nowhere. It is one of those hypnotic obsessions that short-circuit the human mind, and blow out the fuses of reason, and cause a blackout of intellect all over the world. It is an intellectual aberration, a mental phantasmagoria, a Will-o'-the-Wisp illusion that is fanatically asserted to be real by the hypnosis-washed group. It is the compulsive

dream called—*collectivism*.

I shall describe the fascinating figure of the Bellman a little later. Here I wish merely to quote him in his inimitable description of what he calls the "warranted genuine Snarks." He lists five characteristics — and we readers of AMERICAN OPINION recognize immediately what he is talking about. He begins:

*"Let us take them in order. The first  
is the taste  
Which is meagre and hollow, but  
crisp:  
Like a coat that is rather too tight  
in the waist,  
With a flavor of Will-o'-the-Wisp."*

Who can miss the meaning? What else tastes "meagre and hollow," what else is so brittle as to be "crisp"—but collectivism? What is "too tight in the waist"—negative, repressive, a straight-jacket for man—but collectivism? What has the unmistakable flavor of Will-o'-the-Wisp—but collectivism?

The Bellman makes it clearer and clearer, with every word he speaks. The Snark has "the habit of getting up late," so that

*It frequently breakfasts at five  
o'clock tea  
And dines on the following day.*

Of course! Collectivism is inefficient; as Dickens, that other great Victorian, knew, its habitat is "the Circumlocution Office," and its speed is that of treacle on a ten-below-zero morning. It reminds one of the Red Queen's words in *Alice through the Looking Glass*: "Jam yesterday, and jam tomorrow, but never jam today." It is the "promise" of *mañana*... indeed, it is nothing but the "promise" of a blank check with no funds to back it in the bank.

The Bellman's next description clinches it:

*The third is its slowness in taking a jest.*

*Should you happen to venture on one,*

*It will sigh like a thing that is deeply distressed:*

*And it always looks grave at a pun.*

Exactly! Anyone who has ever "ventured" on a Communist, a socialist, or a welfare "Liberal," will recognize the poignantly absolute truth of this — no collectivist ever had a trace of a grain of a smidgin of a sense of humor, and his "slowness in taking a jest" is like that of a frozen egg being introduced to Shakespeare's sonnets.

(I admit that the Bellman's next words puzzle me. He says that the Snark has a "fondness for bathing machines." Since a large slice and fringe of off-beat collectivists love to amble around bearded, unkempt, unwashed, can one say that they are "fond of bathing machines"? But the Victorians, let us understand and remember, were cleanly folk; they can hardly have anticipated sit-ins, teach-ins, Job-Corps-characters . . . it is difficult even for us, in the presence of such dingy specimens, to find them credible. So we may forgive Carroll for his mistake about "bathing machines,"—even Homer nods, and the exception proves the rule!)

But the next mark the Bellman cites is indubitable—"ambition." He means, of course, that a Snark, and those who hunt the Snark, have a *lust for power*, for power as Big Brother . . . they are "ambitious" to control, to fussily plan, to mutilate man by arbitrary whim. This is not the natural laudable human desire to be somebody by outer work and inner worth, but the Snark-"ambition" to be somebody by a *lusus Naturae*, by a spasm like that of a Mexican jumping-bean, by decisions of the Warren Court.

By the time the Bellman concludes

his five distinguished marks, we know the Snark and the Snark-fanciers only too well. They are the fashionable conformists of the hour—open your eyes, you see them everywhere. The Twentieth Century is a game preserve for Snarks!

But the Bellman goes on to make a most important distinction among Snarks. He says:

*"... It next will be right*

*To describe each particular batch:*



The Bellman

*Distinguishing those that have  
feathers and bite,  
From those that have whiskers  
and scratch."*

The Snark that "has feathers and bites" is certainly the *Communist* Snark; the Snark that "has whiskers and scratches" is certainly the *socialist*, or the "Liberal," Snark. But they are both—*Snarks!*

The Bellman is a character seen with uncanny precision and beautiful accuracy. Carroll makes him a freak preserved in artistic amber, a poetic real-



ization of the intellectual nincompoop, an aberration lifted into the fourth dimension, a horror seen by genius. He is the eternal Bellman.

What is the Bellman like? He lands his Snark-hunting crew thus,

*Supporting each man on the top of  
the tide*

*By a finger entwined in his hair.*

And so the Bellman acts today, from "life adjustment," to "rent subsidies," to "federal aid to education," to "medicare." Characteristically, the Bellman has the trick of hypnosis by repetition—the logic of the gaudy lungs. (The more extreme Bellmen of the Twentieth Century even *boast* of the trick of the incredible lie, repeated till everybody believes it—so Hitler, so Stalin, so Mussolini, so contemporary Administrations. The Bellman says:

*"Just the place for a Snark! I have  
said it twice:*

*That alone should encourage the  
crew.*

*Just the place for a Snark! I have  
said it thrice:*

*What I tell you three times is true."*

There, in epitome and essence, is Bellmanship as we know it today—the boozy quintessential brew! *What I tell you three times is true!* The voice of the Bellman is heard in the land today—and television makes it universal and omnipresent, till who can escape it? Television, radio, newsprint and new-speak and *Newsweek* . . . the Bellman is ever with us, in purest bray obscene! *What I tell you three times is true!*

The description of the Bellman, as he seemed to the "incredible crew," makes one think of the *New York Times*, that supreme journalistic Bellman:

*The Bellman himself they all praised  
to the skies—*

*Such a carriage, such ease and  
such grace!*

*Such solemnity too! One could see  
he was wise*

*The moment one looked in his face!*

The ship of society, engaged in the impossible voyage after an inconceivable creature, is today (as in Carroll's prophetic vision) steered by Bellmen—their finger is in our hair, their bell tingle-jingles in metallic decibels, and we wag our heads at their words, for what they say three times must be true!

## II

THE Snark-obsessed Bellman is beautifully real. Carroll makes him so clear that even he who runs must heed. And he is perfectly in character.

*He had brought a large map repre-  
senting the sea,*

*Without the least vestige of land:  
And the crew were much pleased*

*when they found it to be  
A map they could all understand.*

An abstract map, a theoretical map, an "ideal" map, you see . . . a "Liberal" map or a Marxian map! No troublesome juts of land, no reefs or rocks, no islands, no continents, no anything! Such is the Snark-hunters' "map" from Marx to Senator Joseph S. Clark . . .

*"What's the good of Mercator's  
North Poles and Equators,*

*Tropics, Zones, and Meridian  
Lines?"*

*So the Bellman would cry: and the  
crew would reply,*

*"They are merely conventional  
signs!"*

There is "Liberalism" for you, there is collectivism for you, from "progressive education" to "academic freedom" and the last "Five Year Plan." Gravitation, reef and shoal, North and South and

East and West, tide or typhoon, up and down or in and out . . . just leave them off your map! The happy crew exclaim:

*"Other maps are such shapes, with  
their islands and capes!*

*But we've got our brave Captain  
to thank"*

*(So the crew would protest) "that  
he's brought us the best—*

*A perfect and absolute blank!"*

Was there ever a better description of the "Liberal" mind—or of Marxism—than that: *A perfect and absolute blank?* Such a mind, or such a dialectic, fashions a map of society where human nature is blandly abolished, all reality is blithely erased, and the fanatics of the "ideal" can sail (by whim and caprice) the ship whose name is surely *Idiot's Delight*, out of the Port of Nonsense.

But the crew—though they never repudiate the Bellman—soon discover that his "only notion for crossing the ocean" is "to tingle his bell." To tingle the bell—such is Bellmanship *today* . . . the only novelty is that television and microphones have given his "bell" monstrous decibels and an enormous reach.

Such a Bellman here directs the Snark-hunt.

*He was thoughtful and grave—but  
the orders he gave*

*Were enough to bewilder a crew.*

*When he cried, "Steer to starboard,  
but keep her head larboard!"*

*What on earth was a helmsman  
to do?*

Exactly! Were the shifts of the Communist "line" . . . or the antics of American "foreign policy" . . . or the criss-crosses in the Dominican Republic . . . ever more beautifully described? Our Bellman bid the helmsman to "steer to starboard" (i.e. *to the Right*), but to "keep her head larboard" (i.e. *to the Left*)! That is our Bellmanship of bun-

combe, our jargon of deceit. O perfect inspiration!—Carroll is the cartoonist of collectivism in the Twentieth Century.

The result? Exactly what we see around us!—

*Then the bowsprit got mixed with  
the rudder sometimes:*

*A thing, as the Bellman remarked,  
That frequently happens in tropical  
climes*

*When a vessel is, so to speak,  
"Snarked."*

Here you have it, in tissue and total, in existence and essence. When the bowsprit of the ship of state gets mixed with the rudder—at Yalta, in Cuba, in General Marshall's China, in the Dominican Republic—we can explain it thus: "The vessel is, so to speak, *Snarked*."

And notice the unerring accuracy of Carroll's preview of Snarkery.

*But the principal failing occurred in  
the sailing,*

*And the Bellman, perplexed and  
distressed,*

*Said he had hoped, at least, when the  
wind blew due East,*

*That the ship would not travel due  
West!*

This might be an item from the log-book of the Twentieth Century! The wind, for example, is supposed to blow due East, toward peace; but the ship sails due West, into war! The wind is supposed to blow due East, toward freedom; but the ship sails due West, into slavery. One is reminded of the "Orwellian reversal" in 1984. . . .

But what is the use of the Snark, once you find him? One of the crew, the Baker, tells us:

*"I engage with the snark—every  
night after dark—*

*In a dreamy delirious fight:*

*I serve it with greens in those shadowy scenes,  
And I use it for striking a light."*

The fanatics of Snarkery, that is, plan to use the Snark partly to feed their bellies (they "serve it with greens," in their "war on poverty"), and partly "to strike a light." For Communists, socialists, welfare "Liberals"—in short, all collectivists—have lost faith, hope, and love, their contact with reality, their rapport with living Nature, their communion with the living God. And now they yearn to find, they are mad to find, a compensation for their loss. They *have* to have *some* light . . . one can't live by bread alone, *i.e.* just on Snark-meat and greens . . . so they seek the Snark to replace God, a something on which to strike a "light" for their little guttering candles. They hunt the Snark to fill their bellies and to compensate for what used to be their souls!

Such are the Snark-hunters—in Carroll's prophecy and in our experience! The Twentieth Century is the wacky paradise of Snark-happy hunters.

### III

THE CREW, the incredible crew, of Snark-hunters constitutes our society in preview as Carroll saw it. It embraces, in symbol, many types.

*The crew was complete: it included  
a Boots—  
A maker of Bonnets and Hoods—  
A Barrister brought to arrange their  
disputes—  
And a Broker to value their goods.*

Here, surely, we have in symbol the workers with their hands; the lawyers who populate the Warren Court; the financial experts who often today are Snark-obsessed. (It is the wealthy of the world who play patty-cake and ring-around-the-rosy with Communism.) There is the entertainment world, also

—of course Carroll could not know Hollywood as it was to be, or television in detail *then!*—in the person of "a Billiard-marker," "whose skill was immense." Another important figure is the Banker, who in preview as in existential reality, gets all wacky for Snarks. There is a Beaver—a patient shy creature who fills in as a candidate from the animal world, the one animal allowed on this anti-reality voyage. A beaver is, of course, of all animals the fussiest, the busiest, the most technological (he builds dams—and Snark-hunters are always building dams, T.V.A., *etc. etc.*). Snark-hunting, being a fussy, fanatical, obsessive idolization of technology, would naturally select, as the one animal allowed along, *a beaver.*

One of the most peculiar—and central—characters in the crew is "the Baker." But is he *really* a baker? He is very absent-minded. He had had "forty-two boxes, all carefully packed," all labeled with his name, and all set out on the beach; but as he forgot to mention the fact to anyone, the ship sailed and left them on the sand. He is even so forgetful that he left his *name* behind—he cannot now remember it.

*He would answer to "Hi!" or to any  
loud cry,  
Such as "Fry me!" or "Fritter my  
wig!"  
To "What-you-may-call-'um!" or  
"What-was-his-name!"  
But especially "Thing-um-a-jig!"*

His intimate friends called him "Candle-ends," and his enemies "Toasted-cheese." The Bellman says that his "form is ungainly, his intellect small," but he takes him on the voyage because he has only one idea—which is *Snark*. Personally, I am sure that this fellow is not "a baker" at all—but a college professor, a "Liberal" college professor. The mind absent of all reality and ob-



sessed with the Snark—the “form ungainly, the intellect small,” *etc. etc.*, are exactly the contemporary “Liberal” from the groves of Academe. This is made certain by something else. The fellow tells a tale about his uncle’s warning that *some Snarks are Boojums*; but when asked why he hadn’t said so before he sailed, he answers (as a “Liberal” professor would):

*“I said it in Hebrew—I said it in Dutch—*

*I said it in German and Greek:  
But I wholly forgot (and it vexes me much)  
That English is what you speak.”*

No one but an Egghead from the left side of the incubator speaks like that—a member of the New Deal Brain Trust, the Association of University Professors, the New Left, the Teachers-in, *etc. etc.* I must believe that the Baker is “a New Professor,” an Addled Egghead.

There is also the Butcher—undoubtedly a preview of the collectivist goon-squad. It develops that the only creature he knows how to kill is—a beaver. This suggests the cross currents, the tensions, the “conflicts” among Snark-hunters, *i.e.* between the Soviets and the Chinese Reds, or between Communists and socialists and welfare “Liberals,” that always fade when they begin Snark-hunting in earnest. So the Butcher and the Beaver, chancing on each other one dark evening in their separate safaris that join by accident, march shoulder to shoulder for safety’s sake and so that they may “overcome.” They are frightened into friendship by the cry of the Jubjub bird—which seems to be a kind of Beatnik, since it is always “ages ahead of the fashion,” and its “costume is always absurd.” (The Jubjub also, at charity meetings, “stands at the door,” and “collects though it does not subscribe.”) So the feuding Butcher and Beaver, as happens today,

become danger-cemented friends and pals in Snarkery.

Such is the motley crew. Unhappily for us, Carroll was dreaming a prophetic vision: You can find the whole crew today, more incredible than ever yet as factual as a toothache, if you take a jet to Moscow . . . or Washington . . . or almost anywhere else in the Twentieth Century . . . .

#### IV

ANYONE who knows the contemporary Snark-hunters will recognize Car-



The “Baker”

roll’s description of their techniques.

*They sought it with thimbles, they  
sought it with care;  
They sought it with forks and  
hope;  
They threatened its life with a  
railway share;  
They charmed it with smiles and  
soap.*

“Thimbles,” because they are always taking nine stitches to save one best left



unsewed! "Forks," for the goon-squad! "Hope" is the gaseous sort of hope that those untouched by objective reality call "the ideal." A "railway share" would naturally bait the Snark, because he wants to gobble them up and nationalize the railroad. And of course we recognize at once the technique of "smiles and soap." One contemporary Snark-hunter, by divine Providence, is known as "Soapy" Williams, and his exploits with smiles and soap, up and down Africa and nearer home, are well known and lauded among all Snark-hunters. And what would the New Deal have done, or the Great Society do, were it not for "smiles and soap"?

One delicious episode in the great Snark hunt is the Barrister's dream. This is a dream of a fantastic "trial," where the Snark is lawyer for the defense, and *also* the prosecuting attorney, and finally the usurper of the functions of jury and of judge, till at last he pronounces sentence on his own client!—

*"Transportation for life" was the  
sentence it gave,  
"And then to be fined forty pound."*

*The jury all cheered, though the  
judge said he feared,  
That the phrase was not legally  
sound.*

Think of the parallels! — Moscow trials of old Bolsheviks . . . man-knapping of General Walker . . . Warren Court decisions *passim* . . . how pure was Carroll's inspiration!\*

The fantastic dooms that, by tangents to the central story, may afflict Snark-hunters are well suggested by the fate of the Banker.

*The Banker, inspired with a courage*

\* I am sure that Chief Justice Warren reads the Sixth Fit every morning before packing his briefcase with smiles and soap.

*so new*

*It was matter for general remark,  
Rushed madly ahead and was lost to  
their view*

*In his zeal to discover the Snark.*

*But while he was seeking with  
thimbles and care,  
A Bandersnatch swiftly drew nigh  
And grabbed at the Banker, who  
shrieked in despair,  
For he knew it was useless to fly.*

The Bandersnatch is doubtless a deficit in payments, or an impossible-to-pay national budget, or inflation. It is hard to say which; but it is safe to say that it is something untoward, unexpected, inevitable for Snark-hunters, and grimly real. The Banker is simply—Bandersnatched! This is very helpful if we wish to understand the financial situation today . . . it is *Bandersnatched*.

Bankers — if they have any sense — could take warning from Carroll. The Banker tries all sorts of expedients, but in vain:

*He offered large discount — he  
offered a cheque  
(Drawn "to bearer") for seven-  
pounds-ten:  
But the Bandersnatch merely  
extended its neck  
And grabbed at the Banker again.*

*Without rest or pause — while those  
frumious jaws  
Went savagely snapping around —  
He skipped and he hopped and he  
floundered and flopped  
Till fainting he fell to the ground.*

*He was black in the face, and they  
scarcely could trace  
The least likeness of what he  
had been:*

*While so great was his fright that  
his waist-coat turned white —  
A wonderful thing to be seen!*

Bankers beware! Such are the untoward things that may happen to you if you *will* go Snark-hunting. Bankers should notice well, also, that the other Snark-hunters, in their primary obsession with Snarkery, abandon the Banker to the black-and-white reversal of face and coat, and go off after Snarks on their heartless lonesome.

Such are the antics and adventures, such the characters and the characteristics, of Carroll's "improbable crew." And such are the characters and characteristics, the antics and adventures, of the Collectivist Establishment, dominant over the Twentieth Century, which should be known as *Snark Hunters Incorporated, Washington and Moscow*.

The nonsense epic goes on its inexorable way, like the precipitation of a tragedy into the fifth act, till, with whatever pity we can spare and with (I hope) the reasonable facsimile of the terror the story demands, we culminate in Fit the Eighth.

The denouement here has been prepared and explained and motivated by what the Bellman, previously, had begun to say — and what the Baker ("the man they called 'Hi'") had fully revealed as a prophetic warning from his favorite uncle. His uncle had told him that if he found an official, regulation, honest-to-goodness Snark, he could bag it safely and come "galumphing"\* home with it, to serve it with greens, and to use it for striking a light. But also, alas, his uncle warned him, *there are other kinds of Snark*.—

*"But Oh, beamish nephew, beware  
of the day,  
If your Snark be a Boojum! For  
then  
You will softly and suddenly*

*vanish away,  
And never be met with again!"*

And the mischief and mess of it is that no one can tell ahead of time whether the Snark is just a Snark . . . or whether it is — *a Boojum!*

But the Baker (or, as I believe, "Liberal" professor) is the hero of the crew, and a great fellow in his own eyes. So on the particular last evening, he goes galumphing ahead of them all, Snark-intoxicated, proud with the *hybris* that sent Greek protagonists to their doom. He forgets, or he ignores, his uncle's warning. Snark-crazy, he stands tiptoe on a peak in Snarkish Darien, waving his ecstatic hands, wagging his triumphant head:

*Erect and sublime, for one moment  
of time.*

*In the next, that wild figure  
they saw*

*(As if stung by a spasm) plunge  
into a chasm*

*While they waited and listened  
in awe.*

*"It's a Snark!" was the sound that  
first came to their ears,  
And seemed almost too good to  
be true.*

*Then followed a torrent of laughter  
and cheers:*

*Then the ominous words, "It's  
a Boo—"*

*Then silence. Some fancied they  
heard in the air*

*A weary and wandering sigh  
That sounded like "jum!" but the  
others declare*

*It was only a breeze that went by.*

The Snark-happy crew, in spite of the hint of the Boojum, hunt the crags over, partly to find the Baker, but mostly to find the Snark themselves. But they find not a "button, or feather, or mark." The

\* "Galumphing" is a beautiful word. It describes exactly the way Hubert Humphrey moves. He always "galumphs."

Baker, whose "form ungainly and intellect small" had been obsessed with the single compulsive idea, "Snark!", had found one . . . and with it his own inevitable end.

*In the midst of the word he was  
trying to say,  
In the midst of his laughter and  
glee,  
He had softly and suddenly vanished  
away —  
For the Snark was a Boojum,  
you see.*

And so the Agony in Eight Fits, the Tragedy in the key of humor, comes to an end — the inevitable end, the Aristotelian end. For the Snark *was* a Boojum, you see!

## VI

THIS PERFECT nonsense makes perfect sense. Those who pursue the Snark, the fanatics for a subjective Utopian illusion made an "ideal," are the Snark Hunters Incorporated of the Twentieth Century.\* They hunt the Snark, which is the abstract subjective mental concept (D. H. Lawrence made a lot of sense here — see his critique of *Moby Dick*) of something that objectively and concretely just isn't there. The Snark, if I may venture into the vernacular, is "a creature that ain't." The Snark is the epitome and essence of nowhere and nothing, like all socialism. And so when the genuine pixilated Snark-hunter comes to the end of his safari, his chase of his spooky vacuum of a white whale, he finds only a crack in space, a hollow in time, a hole into nothing, which drops him out of the time-space continuum, off the good earth, out of nowhere into nothing. (This is the theme song of contemporary "literature" al-

\* Communism, socialism, welfare "Liberalism" are the partners in this concern. They quarrel—but they are partners.

most everywhere.) This initiation into nowhere and nothing is more than any Snark-hunter can endure — so he just goes out like a burned out Mazda bulb, he just "softly and suddenly" vanishes away.

Every Snark-hunter, in the instant that he finds the Snark he seeks, goes out and ceases to be. Beyond the Snark, he has no reality of love or life — no rapport with living Nature, no communion with the Living God — and so in the moment that he finds his goal, he meets his comeuppance and end. When you find the Snark of collectivism, of the materialism that is the mask over the eyes of nothing, you reach the apotheosis of annihilation, the crisis of the bubble's end. The Snark is only a dream; and if it is your only dream, you drop through a crack in your mind into the Limbo of nothing.

There is a final aspect of this which, so far as I know, no critic of *The Hunting of the Snark* has yet perceived for himself or stated for others. *The only Snark that Carroll's Snark-hunters ever find — is a Boojum!* Whether it is a Snark that has feathers and bites (Communism), or a Snark that has whiskers and scratches (socialism, welfare "Liberalism"), *any and every Snark, in the instant that you find it, is a Boojum!* And so at the end of the Snark-hunt that so far has obsessed the Twentieth Century, the inevitable end will always and everywhere be the same: Man will softly and suddenly vanish away, for each Snark *is* a Boojum, you see.

But there *is* a salvation for Man. Resign from Snark Hunters, Incorporated, and devote yourself to "less government, more responsibility, and a better world." Seek, that is, romance and reality — magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas, the Pearl of Great Price; not the Snark — but the loaves and fishes by the sea. Thus you will find not the abolition of man — but the renaissance of man . . . ■ ■



# POVERTY

## Footnote On Appalachia

Taylor Caldwell is the most widely-read living author in the world. Her books include *The Devil's Advocate*; *Never Victorious, Never Defeated*; *Tender Victories*; *Your Sins and Mine*; *Dear and Glorious Physician*; *Prologue to Love*; *Grandmother and the Priests*; *A Pillar of Iron*, and many others. Her latest, *No One Hears But Him*, has just been released.



■ "WAR ON POVERTY" sounds tender, humanitarian, noble, brotherly-loving, and what not, and the hearts of potential tyrant-bureaucrats palpitate with joy and anticipation of big fat salaries at the expense of their fellow-citizens' taxes. To mask this natural human greed at the thought of spoils, they assume euphoric radiance and mouth all kinds of platitudes and idiocies. (I won't repeat them. You all know the saccharine adverbs and adjectives of which I speak.) It now seems that everyone, no matter his natural indolence and hate for work, is "entitled to a minimum income" just because he was born, and his industrious brother is to be penalized for thrift and hard work—in the name of "Brotherhood." It almost seems that there is no one Big Government hates these days so much as the independent man, the self-reliant, the proud and responsible—so he must be punished by having his status reduced to that of a slave toiling to support the new "idle rich," that is, the creep who declines to

work or who is a malingerer.

I have no objection to helping those in temporary distress, through private charity, which has always been on hand to assist. But government charity which despoils the makers of wealth—the hard-working men—and gives to the deliberately worthless to "expand their self-esteem and participation in the life of the nation" means nothing but serfdom and forced labor.

"The poor you will have with you always," said Our Lord. Man is not born with abilities equal to that of his neighbor, so in the natural course of life some will rise through ambition, work, and inventiveness and imagination, and some—according to the mysterious ways of God and genes—will be born weak of will and character, inherently under-endowed with the life-force, and of inferior intelligence and talent. But it is the inferior who must now be supported in grand style via government, and the superior who must be exploited for the sake of the weak.

This is total madness. It is not "humanitarian" at all. It is inexcusable cruelty and injustice. Worse, it will degrade the human race and eliminate the fit and increase the numbers of those who carry the genes of imbecility, sloth, crime, mendicancy, and stupidity. Is that really the idea behind the War on Poverty? Could be.

I

YES, INDEED, "Poverty is a state of mind." In the blackest and darkest days of my own real poverty I never felt "poor." I never felt "deprived." Poverty was a temporary state, and it took only



guts and determination to get out of it, no matter your "disadvantages." If anyone had suggested that I was "poor" I would have been horrified, even on the day I was reduced to three cents and with no job in sight, and a family to support.

To those who have read my article on Appalachia (see *AMERICAN OPINION*, March 1966), I will add another chapter.

My husband never discovered the oil for which he was drilling in Appalachia. He worked for a bloody "Liberal" who lived grandly, and who promised wonders for the young exploited who labored for him in his fields. He would "invest" their wages, he said, in "my growing oil empire. Nothing too good for my boys." Finally he owed my husband a thousand dollars, and thousands more to other innocents working for him. So he promptly filed for bankruptcy, claiming no assets. He had everything in his wife's name, the shrewd "Liberal."

So, we had no money at all except



Better get the rock salt, Jake.

fifty dollars I had made, myself, as a public stenographer in the little town of Bowling Green, Kentucky. I walked from the farmhouse, where we boarded, the whole eight miles into town, would work all day, then walk the eight miles back. I had had this job for only six months, and with constant work I could average about eighteen dollars a week which paid our board and left a little over for savings. I was twenty-two. I had a four-year-old daughter. There was no future for us in Bowling Green. But in my home city, in the North, I could get a regular job as a secretary and make, I hoped then, twice as much. There wasn't enough money for the three of us to travel on, so I left my husband in Kentucky to find a little work to raise his fare, and took my child home.

It was no fun traveling two nights and one day in a gritty coach with a little girl. I had my trunk with me, something like a foot-locker of small dimensions, and in it I had all my worldly goods, including clothing for myself and my child for all seasons, fifty or so books, two old blankets, and two iron skillets. The trunk, with all that, was only a third full, so you can imagine the extent of my possessions.

The fare had been twenty-nine dollars, and then there was the expense of food on the train and some cough-mixture for my child, who had developed a bad cold on the journey and was quite sick. I arrived in my home city in a particularly savage February blizzard—and with no place to go and with only about fifteen dollars in my purse. It was 6:30 a.m. and black and below zero in temperature. We emerged into the station and I spent fifty cents for our breakfast. Then I bought a newspaper and sat down to study the ads. First of all, I had to find a place to live, and shelter for the night. I had no relatives and friends to whom to go, no helping hand. Strange, however, I didn't

in the least consider myself "poor." My hopes were high, and so were my spirits, and so I bought my child a sucker to keep her quiet on the bench in the waiting-room of the station while I studied the morning newspaper. It never occurred to me that I was in a desperate plight. Therefore, I was in no such plight. I was soon enlightened, and I have never forgotten the shame, the embarrassment, and the mysterious if momentary terror and loathing.

A middle-aged and very gaunt woman suddenly sat down next to me, curiously smelling of camphor and an unwashed body and hair that needed laundering. She had an oily dark complexion, arch eyes, and a grinning mouth with enormous teeth, and she was dressed in thick, dark-brown wool and a drab hat. My little girl took the sucker out of her mouth and, with the instinct of childhood, moved closer to me for protection. I stared at the woman and shifted a little away from her, but she followed me, and, to my outrage, began to stroke my arm over and over.

"In trouble, dear?" she murmured, in a voice as oily as her complexion. I saw she also had a bad case of acne.

I had always been taught by my mother "never to speak to strangers." Mama had hinted that the most catastrophic things happened to young women who so spoke, such as White Slavery. (At twenty-two I didn't know what White Slavery was, but it sounded ghastly.) Still I was also polite, so I told the woman as briefly as possible that I was searching the newspaper for a boarding house for me and my child, and a possible job. She cocked her head as she listened. Her eyes moistened. She kept stroking my arm over and over, and now her hand had begun to linger on my neck which she kept gently mauling and pinching. It gave me the shudders, though I didn't know why. Then abruptly she took my purse off my lap and opened it. I snatched at it,

sure I had encountered a thief, but she was only counting my money. "Fifteen dollars," she mused, and blinked as if there were tears in her eyes, "and no home, nowhere to go. Poor children." She returned my purse, and returned to fondling my neck. Now I was frightened, and she saw it.

"Oh, I represent the County Welfare," she reassured me. "Tell me, dear, are you married, or are you an Unwed Mother?" She cocked her head at me, beaming. When I angrily told her that I was indeed a Married Mother, she looked disappointed. "Take your hand off my neck," I told her. She gave me a final loving pinch, and withdrew her hand. "Such a pretty girl, too," she murmured. She licked her lips. Then she stared at my child. "Under your Circumstances, dear," she said, "would you be willing to put your child up for adoption? We have so many calls...."

My mouth fell open in amazement. "What do you mean, my circumstances?" I demanded.

"Your poverty, dear, your terrible poverty."

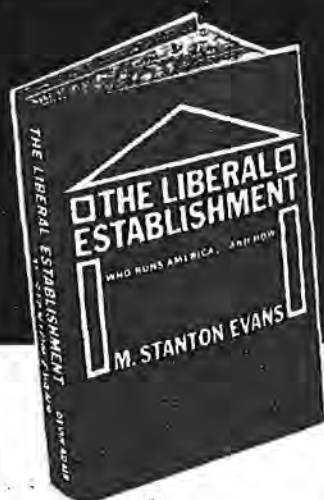
I was more amazed than ever. "I'm not poor!" I shouted. Had she accused me of the grossest immorality I could not have felt more disgraced, more ashamed, more degraded.

"But fifteen dollars, and no place to go!"

"Get out of here!" I cried, trying to keep from bursting into horrified tears. Her body odor alone was making me nauseated.

"But, I want to Help," she cooed. "We have Shelters. We will place your child in a Home, and give you Counselling, and a warm place to sleep. While you consider putting up your child for adoption—such a pretty little baby, too...."

Someone halted before me, and I looked up to see a Salvation Army lady standing beside me, a woman with a rosy maternal face and the kindest eyes.



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(I saw the kindness later, for at that time she was staring at the Welfare lady coldly and sternly.) Then she said to me, "Is there anything the matter, child?"

The bonnet and the cloak and the air of cleanliness and kindness and the blue sweet eyes were reprieve and haven to me. I began to talk, but the Welfare lady interrupted and said, "Captain, I don't think this is one of your Cases, so please don't interfere. I am trying to persuade this girl to give up her child and accept Welfare...."

The Captain ignored her. "I don't want to be impolite, child," she said to me. "But perhaps I can give you advice, at least." She sat down on my other side and smiled at me and then in a motherly fashion she wiped my baby's nose. Then she said to the Welfare lady, "Please leave us."

The creature stood up. "I am going to call the police and have this girl arrested as a vagrant, for her Own Good!" she said. "She has no home, no means of support, no money to speak of, and no place to go!"

"Yes, she has," said the Salvation Army captain. "She has us, and I'm in charge here. Run along." Her face was suddenly severe and full of contempt. "If you don't leave, Miss, I'll have a few words with the police, myself, and I don't think you'll like what I have to say."

The woman fled, to my overwhelming relief. The Captain settled cosily beside me, and she smelled of soap and freshness and that cleanliness of heart and soul which has its own special fragrance. She was very old, probably forty or so, and thus I lightly confided in her. She listened thoughtfully and kept nodding her head.

"Well," she said briskly, "the first thing is to find some nice boarding house where you can stay until you get a job." She brought out a black notebook from her big bag and went through it. "Just

the people!" she said. "Very worthy and very good. Mr. H---- is eighty-five and he has quite a good job, selling shoes, but his wife is an invalid. She's ninety. A very refined lady. They have an unmarried daughter, about my age, who cares for her mother. They do need extra money, and they are very proud. They have a nice bedroom for rent, for two, and three meals a day. Fifteen dollars a week."

I considered. I had nothing to sell that would bring me a couple of dollars. I told the Captain that I couldn't pay board in advance, until I had a job, for I needed the fifteen dollars I had. She nodded with more briskness. "Oh, I'm sure it can all be arranged," she said. "Let me make a telephone call or two."

She was back in minutes, beaming. "It's all right," she said. "I talked with Miss H----, the daughter, and she accepts my recommendation. She and her parents are part of our Army. They are waiting for you and your child, now. I'm sure you'll love each other. Now, just give me your baggage ticket, and we'll be on our way."

We were, in five minutes, followed by my little trunk. When we reached the outside it was just getting light and the blizzard was blinding. The Welfare lady was talking to two policemen, and as we emerged from the station the three of them swung to me. "There are the waifs!" the Welfare creature cried, pointing at us, "the poor homeless waifs!"

The policemen came towards us. I was overcome with terror and a feeling of nightmare. I wanted to lift my child and run. But the Captain took my arm firmly. She smiled at the policemen. "No," she said, "these are not waifs. Everything is arranged, gentlemen." She looked up at them with her clear blue eyes, and they touched their caps. "Private charity!" spat the Welfare hag, with rage and contempt.

"Not even charity," said the Captain.



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"Just temporary assistance, and no charity."

"We'll put you out of business one of these days!" said the hag, stretching her neck at the Captain, like the vultures I had seen in the South.

"No doubt you'll try," said the Salvation Army lady. "But I don't think you'll succeed. God is with us, you see." She, like myself, had been born in England, and her accent was mine, and comforting.

"This girl and her child aren't vagrants then?" asked one of the policemen.

"Of course not! She just needed a boarding house for herself and her child, and there's plenty of work in her line—secretarial. So I helped her find the boarding house, and everything's fine, officer."

The Captain nodded and smiled and led me to the curb to a taxi. "I can't afford it," I said. I was still trembling. I clutched my child to my side.

"Oh, but you have a trunk. Now, just promise me to return the fare, and you can when you have a job."

So we rode in style through the howling blizzard to my new home. It was a big old wooden house, warm and clean, and the mother and the middle-aged daughter greeted us as though we were dearly-beloved young relatives returning from a long journey. They were very poor. I know now how dreadfully poor they were. But they were proud and heroic and were filled with the true sense of brotherhood: Respect for others' privacy and pride and self-respect. I was no "vagrant" to them, no Poor Soul who Needed Help. I was a husky young woman, a wife and a mother, in temporary difficulties which she could solve herself.

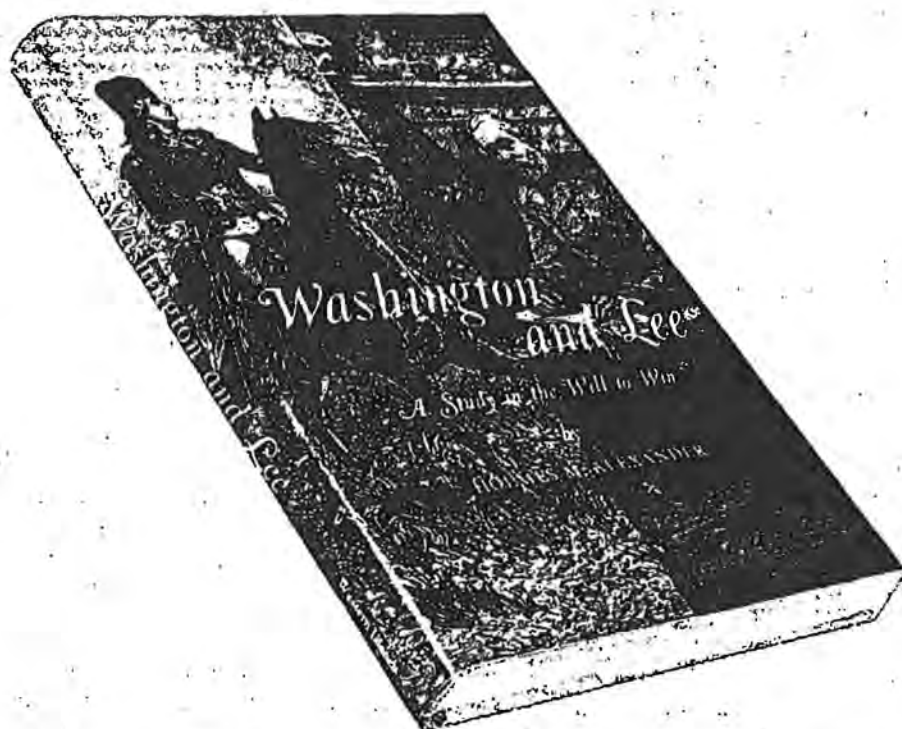
"You need more than fifteen dollars a week," said the Captain, helping me to unpack what little I had in the warm little room with its double bed. "You need fifteen for board for you and Mary,

and then there's carfare and lunches for yourself, and money for clothing, a little later. So, you need about twenty-five dollars a week. Report to Mr. Lester Schweitzer tomorrow morning. He is in the insurance and real-estate business; not very successful, I'm afraid, but he's willing to pay twenty-five dollars for a good secretary. There's a Depression on, you know, and I just don't understand what all the newspapers are roaring about—saying we are so prosperous and everyone has so much money."

That was in 1923. There certainly was a Prosperity, but it was a gangster prosperity, a gunmoll prosperity, a thieves' prosperity. I found out later that twenty-five dollars a week was the average income of individuals and families—that is, for the honest and hard-working. But it was indeed the Roaring Twenties for the criminal of all classes and occupations, the suspect businessman, the Call Girls, the stock salesmen and such. But not for us. Moreover, costs were about what they are now, in 1966. Inflation, you see.

I reported to Mr. Schweitzer the next morning. Mr. Schweitzer had a tiny dank office with two desks in it, one window, and a smell of dust. He was old, and he wore a skull-cap even in his office and during his infrequent business. It was obvious to me that things were not booming. He told me that he averaged about fifty dollars a week, and sometimes, when he was lucky, seventy-five. But he needed a secretary, and the Captain had told him I needed twenty-five dollars a week, and we were in business.

We were also friends. I told him I had been going to night high school intermittently in Kentucky, and that two Mormon missionaries in the mountains had given me the gift of a high school correspondence course. "Ah, then, you'll have to return to high school at night," said Mr. Schweitzer. "A nice girl like you, so hardworking. She deserves



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more."

So I went to night school again, secure in my job, and with my child well cared for by the H---- family. I was happy and busy. A few months later Mr. Schweitzer called my attention to state examinations for court reporter, and he let me take his typewriter to the place of the examinations, and I passed. Eighteen hundred dollars a year! Riches! Magnificent! Mr. Schweitzer and I were in tears when we parted.

"Trust in God, child," he said, holding my hand. "Work hard. Owe no man. Accept nothing that you can't repay. Keep your head high. And you'll succeed." I had often discussed my ambition to be a novelist with him.

He gave me a five-dollar gold piece, which I tried to refuse. But he wanted me to have it, "as a talisman." I never saw him again. He died three months later.

Within a few months I could send my husband money for his train-fare. I had started a nice bank account. I had some new clothes for myself and my child. Moreover, Mr. Schweitzer had informed me what to do about the robber "Liberal" who had gone into bankruptcy in Bowling Green, and so deprived my husband of his thousand dollars. I found a lawyer who went to work on the case. He collected nine hundred dollars for us, and took one hundred for his fee. We were millionaires! I passed the college board entrance exams and started night college. And paid every penny of it, myself.

## II

"THINK," the "Liberals" whimper at me, "of the Young People who Never had a Chance! Don't you think they Deserve all the educational advantages we can give them—we who never had to Suffer?"

"No one deserves what he never earned," I answer. "What do you mean—they never had a chance? There are

scholarships going begging today for worthwhile would-be college students. There are dozens of ways of working your way through college. I did—and I know what it is to Suffer, though somehow I never knew I was suffering."

"They don't believe me. They narrow their shallow eyes at me and murmur that I don't seem to Have a Heart. Then they speak of Socialized Medicine. 'What do you know of the need for medical attention and not being able to afford it?' they demand.

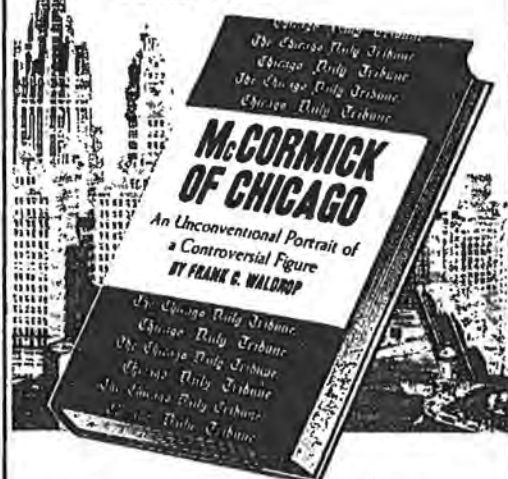
I know. Though it was the Roaring Twenties then and a Big Ball—for very few—my husband was not able to find steady work in his line. When he did the pay was miserable, though again we had no complaint. Then our child became seriously ill. The doctor we called ordered her to the hospital, into a private room with nurses around the clock. She was there for over two months, and the costs were almost the same as they are now. Our savings vanished. I was the only one working. Eventually, we were nearly a thousand dollars in debt to the hospital and the doctor.

I went to the Reverend Mother in charge of the Sisters' Hospital. I told her frankly of our position. "I can't pay you all, right away," I said. "But I have a good job, one-hundred-fifty a month, and will pay it off in stages." I went to the doctor and told him the same thing. It took me three years to pay it off, and I never congratulated myself. I was only doing my duty. No one was responsible for my predicament; it was all my own. To have been offered charity and free medical and hospital care would have been received, by me, as the supreme insult. To help pay the debt off sooner I took a job in a florist's shop on Sundays.

"But wouldn't it have been nicer and easier for you if it had all been free?" ask the "Liberals" coaxingly.



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"No, it would have been much harder, for I'd have lost my courage and my self-respect," I reply. "Without them, my life would have bogged down completely, and I'd have been reduced to the infamy and degradation of the born-beggar, the parasitical curse of modern society."

We stayed with the H-----s for several years, working and saving. Years later I was able to help them, for the old lady and gentleman lived to be over one-hundred years old. I was able to contribute to the Salvation Army, that blessed organization of good and holy people, who promoted pride and self-respect among those they helped and who believed, and still believe, in the power of the individual to solve his own problems, with the help of God.

"Owe no man," old Mr. Schweitzer had told me. Once he added, "He who eats the bread of charity has bartered away his own soul, for only an animal accepts what he has not earned." But alas, the Schweitzers are a lost breed in America now, where millions of the inferior are not only urged to take charity but are encouraged to do so, to the loss of their stature as men.

"Poverty is a state of mind." But it is not the state of the soul which refuses to consider itself "poor," and has the fortitude to work for what it eats and what it drinks. The really poor are those without ambition and pride and determination. I suppose we can't let them starve. However, they should be made to understand that charity is only temporary—and very meager—and that it is up to them to get off their knees and walk as men. At least, that is what

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■ EAGLE ROCK—Americans just ain't cut out to be social climbers. We've been in the Great Society for some time now; but we ain't been having a ball.

■ EAGLE ROCK—Few Americans know the real names of the two men who changed our world most drastically and who, though dead, are still changing it. The real name of the man we know as "Lenin" was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. The real name of the man we know as "Stalin" was Joseph Vissarionovich Djughashvili. Since their ultimate goal was world revolution, the Bolsheviks were very careful to choose pseudonyms that could be pronounced anyplace in the world.

1966 Dwight Claar Associates

charity should tell them, and charity is evil if it does not, whether it is private or governmental. (By the way, I repaid the Mormons for that mail-order high-school education. Many, many times over, and again, may God bless them.)

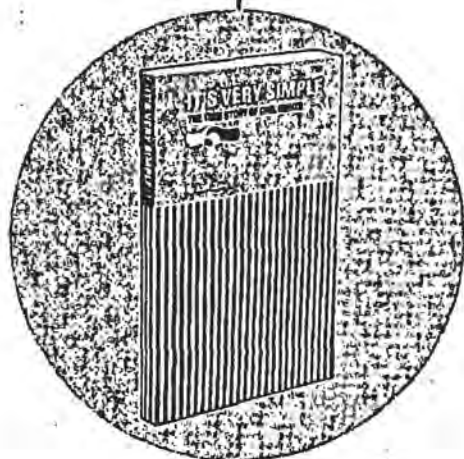
I "owe not any man," not money, not education, not "opportunity." I was a young girl, and I understood even from earliest childhood that we must stand alone—or lose our souls. There is little work with which I am not familiar. It is a joy to people of my generation to know that we fought the world with the help of God, and were triumphant. How dare we deny this joy to our grandchildren? The rules whereby we lived are still the rules of life. Those who abrogate them in the name of "Aid to the Unfortunate" have doomed our country. Cowardly soft nations invite the attentions of the barbarian—and the barbarian is looking over the oceans at us now and estimating how weak we are, how dependent, how feeble of heart and courage. They, at least, know how to work and how to live austere, and they depend only on themselves. The history of Rome will be our history—unless we call our children to strength, self-denial, and responsibility again.

We owe it to our country, ourselves, our children and our grandchildren to stop the so-called War on Poverty, and deliver ourselves from evil.

"The 'Liberals' know that as well as I do, and you do. One almost suspects that they wish this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to perish from the face of the earth. ■ ■

—JACK MOFFITT

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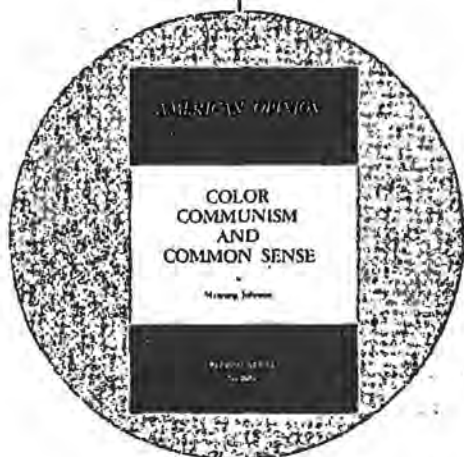


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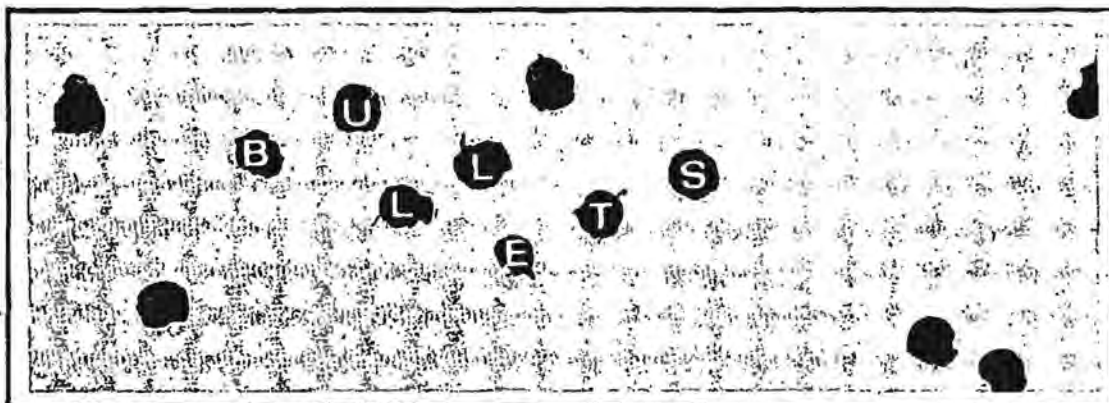
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Warning: Never put off until tomorrow what you can do today; there may be a law against it by that time.

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It is to the credit of human nature, that, except where its selfishness is brought into play, it loves more readily than it hates.

*Nathaniel Hawthorne*

The same old charitable lie  
Repeated as the years scoot by  
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"You really haven't changed a bit."

*Margaret Fishback*

An honest politician is one who, when he is bought, will stay bought.

*Simon Cameron*

The one means that wins the easiest victory over reason: terror and force.

*Adolf Hitler*

Dissimulation is the coward's virtue.

*Voltaire*

The Democratic Party is like a man riding backward in a carriage. It never sees a thing until it has gone by.

*Benjamin F. Butler*

The interrogation of custom at all points is an inevitable stage in the growth of every superior mind.

*Emerson*

One of our electricians got home at three o'clock in the morning, only to have his wife ask him: "Wire you insulate?"

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No change of circumstances can repair a defect of character.

*Emerson*

A democracy is a government in the hands of men of low birth, no property, and vulgar employments.

*Aristotle*

Remember that all tricks are either knavish or childish.

*Samuel Johnson*

There is in every true woman's heart a spark of heavenly fire, which lies dormant in the broad daylight of prosperity; but which kindles up and beams and blazes in the dark hour of adversity.

*Washington Irving*

Our real disease is democracy.

*Alexander Hamilton*

The republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.

*Thomas Jefferson*

Democracy means government by the uneducated while aristocracy means government by the badly educated.

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# COMMUNISTS

## The Menace Within

*Congressman Martin Dies of Texas served seven years as Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the historic Dies Committee. Now practicing law in Texas, Congressman Dies remains one of the most outspoken foes of the International Communist Conspiracy. He is author of the recent and explosive volume, Martin Dies' Story—which we recommend.*



■ IS THERE a Communist menace within? The "Liberals" answer that question with an emphatic and indignant "No," though now they do say that during the Nineteen-Thirties and Forties there *was* a Communist threat operating quite successfully within our borders. American "Liberals" have even revised their figures with respect to the number of card-holding Communists which they believe to have been operative in this country at that time, from their original estimate of ten thousand to their current estimate of one-hundred thousand.\*

The "Liberals" no longer deny that Communists infiltrated our labor unions and many and various American organizations, or that they established scores of Front groups with large memberships. Only recently a Television Special acknowledged these facts, and

\* Actually the investigators for the House Committee on Un-American Activities have shown that there were approximately one hundred and ninety thousand card-holding Communists in the United States as early as 1938.

in numerous speeches and articles by various important "Liberals" such admissions, express and implied, have been appearing for the first time since the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities began its investigations in 1938.

The memory of the public is short, but if one will take the pains to read the newspapers, magazines, and speeches of the Thirties and Forties he will discover that during all the years the Dies Committee conducted its probe of Communist activities in the United States the "Liberals," virtually without exception, denied and ridiculed the Committee's volumes of findings and evidence which revealed a large, effective, and well-organized Communist apparatus—including subsidiary, auxiliary, and Front organizations—operating in the United States. At the time, Americans were told by leading "Liberals" that the Committee's findings were manufactured from whole cloth to discredit the Roosevelt Administration and the "Liberals" in general. The C.I.O. was especially vicious in its attacks upon the Committee, claiming that our discovery of numerous proofs of Communist control of some of the most important International Unions was inspired and directed by industrialists to discredit and weaken the unions. "Liberal" columnists, newspapers, and radio commentators joined in the denial of the validity and sincerity of the Committee's findings.

Today the truth of our findings is admitted by the "Liberals" because the evidence has become so overwhelming and certain that further denial would only be self-incriminating.



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# I

THE "LIBERAL" Republican Senator from Kentucky, Thruston Morton, recently declared magnanimously that the Democratic Party and America's labor unions have now thoroughly expelled the Communists who were once in their midst. Fifteen years ago the slightest intimation from even a "Liberal" Republican that Communists had *ever* infiltrated the Democratic Party and the labor unions would have been labeled as treason. Now the "Liberals" say that our charges of Communist activity *were* true in the Thirties and Forties but that today there are only ten thousand members of the Communist Party in the United States and very few, if any, Front organizations.

Since those same "Liberals" were claiming a 10,000 membership for the Communists at a time when they now admit there *were* at least 100,000 Communists operative in the United States, we are entitled to ask some questions: What became of the 190,000 card-holding members of the Communist Party who according to authoritative and sworn testimony were operative in the Communist Party, U.S.A. in 1938, and of the several millions (estimated by some witnesses, under oath, as high as seven million) members of those organizations in America controlled and used by Communists to serve the Kremlin? Have they seen the error of their ways?

When we note the Communist-inspired riots, looting, burning, and killing which occurred recently in Los Angeles and Harlem, it is hard to believe that the Communists are no longer large in number and strong in influence and power. When we see revolutionary organizations and minorities operating openly on our college campuses and nearly everywhere to incite propaganda favoring a Communist enemy killing our boys in Vietnam, and making exorbitant demands which further weaken the Constitution, threaten the dollar,

and bring us ever closer to the greatest fiscal crisis in our history, it is difficult to accept the assurances of the "Liberals" that there is no longer any internal threat from Communism.

It is true that the Communists, their dupes, and fellow travelers are not now being subjected to the searchlight of public exposure. Committees of Congress have been prevented by intimidation from discharging their investigative duty to the country. And, sadly, some formerly active and effective foes of the Communists have been driven from the fight by a dictatorial government which is determined that never again shall it be exposed that its "Liberal" supporters keep physical and intellectual company with the Communists. Consequently, our Congressional investigating Committees are given spacious offices, numerous patronage jobs for Committee members, and plenty of money for other purposes—but there is a tacit understanding that there shall never be a repetition of the fearless probe of Communist activity as that conducted by the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. Furthermore, a politically appointed and consequently compliant Supreme Court has placed many obstacles, and is prepared to place more, in the path of a fearless investigation and exposure of Communism in the United States.

Meanwhile, our government is conceding many of the important Marxist principles by enacting legislation based upon those very principles, and by stirring up ethnic divergency upon which Communists thrive—such as the Administration's declarations that what happened in the Watts section of Los Angeles would happen in other cities unless the discontented were bribed with government handouts. Thus the Communists continue to enjoy protection from exposure and responsibility as ethnic-oriented politicians declare that such acts of violence are caused by pov-



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erty and discrimination and that the Communists play a minor role in starting or conducting these rebellions against law and order and the Constitutional rights of innocent Americans.

And, judging by results, it appears that the Communists are today enjoying even more success in stirring up riots and keeping the pot of discontent boiling than they did during the Communist-inspired sit-down strikes and their other violent efforts of the Thirties. Note that in those strikes thousands of buildings were not burned, thousands of stores were not looted, and innocent people were not murdered by the scores as they were in Los Angeles, Harlem, and other cities only a few months ago. Even during the depth of the Depression, in contrast with the present unprecedented but artificial prosperity, our people would not have tolerated such wholesale acts of arson, burglary, and murder, much less politicians who condone them by predicting more to come, on even a larger scale, unless we buy the enjoyment of our Constitutional rights with the hypothecated earnings of our offspring.

## II

It is my personal opinion that our situation is today even more dangerous than it was in the Thirties and Forties. Then, at least, we were solvent. Today, according to the definition of bankruptcy established by our federal statutes and decisions (the inability to pay just debts if called upon to do so), we are a bankrupt nation. Today, too, our elections are determined by pressure groups and propaganda. The revolutionary Left has marshalled our mass media and leads whole blocks of America's minorities — virtually controlling our elections. Frankly, the Communists now have more amenable material with which to work.

Furthermore, the Communists are today aided in their secret and conspira-

torial activities by the repeated assurances of the Administration in power, and by its "Liberal" supporters, that there is no internal Communist threat and that the Communists are now a negligible and impotent minority. This is the precise protection which the Communists require, while they fulfill their objective to burden the nation with programs which, while insufficient in themselves to immediately create an outright Communist state, produce results which must ultimately lead to a Communist dictatorship.

When we consider the Leftist revolutionary policies of our government, its inefficiency, the continuing attacks upon our divinely inspired Constitution, and the current ability of the Party in power—despite Constitutional prohibitions—to perpetuate its control of elections through the old Roman practice of buying votes with government handouts camouflaged as welfare programs, we are forced to the conclusion that America's internal enemies are very active. The hand is not always seen, but we know that telling blows are being struck with increasing frequency in behalf of a Communist United States. If a man is felled by a blow struck in the dark, he may not know who did it, but he certainly knows that someone did it. What force could there be other than domestic Communist activity to propel this once great Republic along our current course toward Communist totalitarianism? What other project of the International Communist Conspiracy compares in importance with the destruction of the United States? *Of course* they are concentrating their efforts here; and *obviously* they are being far too successful.

The "Liberals," on the other hand, would have us believe that Communism has changed and is steadily adopting capitalistic methods; that the antagonism between China and the U.S.S.R. is

(Continued on Page 105.)



# WESTERN

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so bitter and the cleavage so wide that Russia must become our ally. Tell that to our boys in Vietnam; tell it to the parents and families of our pilots shot down over North Vietnam by Soviet missiles brought in on Chinese railroads; tell it to the wives and mothers and orphans of the more than 2,335 Americans who have been killed by the Communists in Vietnam.

It is said that the Bourbons never learned. The same can be said of the American "Liberals." For thirty years they have succumbed to Communist propaganda. Yet, they continue to try desperately to justify their tragic blunders. To do so they must continue to promote the fiction that their pro-Communist policies will ultimately lead to reconciliation with Communism. It is like showering a tiger with gifts in the hope that he will change into butter. That only happens in children's story books.

This is not the first time that Marxism has been slightly modified by the Russians with minor injections of capitalistic methods. Lenin, himself, was compelled to make some such minor changes. They do not alter the basic Communist system of state ownership of the means of production, of land, and all private property — nor do they change the Communists' propelling and driving ambition and determination to conquer the world.

Those "Liberals" who cite recent developments in the Soviet Union as proof of the vindication of their pro-Communist policies fail to mention that the United States has imported and adopted many Marxian experiments, and that as a result we are alienating former allies as fast as the Soviet Union is gaining them. In our present struggle with the Vietcong, in which so many fine young Americans are dying, and which is adding daily to our already unbearable debt and inflation, how many of the nations recipient of our bounties and

blood have come to our aid?

The sensible and realistic American should ask, Who is containing whom? Who is winning this so-called Cold War? Has the Free World acquired one foot of Communist territory in thirty years? In the wars which we have fought to halt Communist aggression has the Soviet Union lost a single soldier? The answers to these questions are obvious. Since World War II the United States has lost thousands of lives to "contain" Communism. We have spent more than a hundred billion dollars, which has been added to our already crushing debt. We have further depleted our dwindling natural resources, which will be a serious problem for future Americans. Yet we have freed not one yard of once free territory from Communist control.

Now, manifestly, something insidious has influenced a foreign policy which lost China, Cuba, the whole of Eastern Europe, and much of Africa and Latin America to Communism, and which finds us today fighting a war in Vietnam with the half-hearted approval or opposition of the scores of nations which have been the beneficiaries of our bounty. Stupidity alone cannot explain the tragic foreign-policy blunders which have cost us so much and which will cost our children far more.

To those who have studied the long and clear record of Communist subversion and propaganda in the United States; who know that the Communists were in control of at least twelve International Labor Unions affiliated with the C.I.O. and that at one time they controlled a near majority (some testimony showed a majority) of the Executive Board of the C.I.O.; who know that several thousand Communists were exposed in the federal service, some of them holding key positions, and that under the compulsion of public opinion more than five thousand federal employees were belatedly fired as grave



*The Personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self-destruction of America, is the source of great evil. It can, and must be, repealed if America is to remain a nation of free people.*

The proposed LIBERTY AMENDMENT to the Constitution, already approved by the state legislatures of Wyoming, Texas, Nevada, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, will restore solvency, sanity, and freedom to America. Full details are available upon request from Liberty Amendment Committee, U.S.A., 6413 Franklin Avenue, Los Angeles 28, California.

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security risks only to be gradually rehired for the most part after the "heat" was off; who know from the uncontradicted proof that several millions of Americans were involved through Front organizations, even though innocently in many instances, in the Communist Conspiracy in the United States; for those who know that more than six-hundred Communist newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals have been published in this country and distributed to millions of Americans under the guise of "Liberalism"; to those who know these facts and many others now undisputed even by the "Liberals," there can be no doubt that the sinister influence which warped American policies to the advantage of the International Communist Conspiracy has been Communist activity within this country.

### III

A FEW Communists were once imprisoned for the commission of crimes under our criminal statutes, but these have long since served their sentences or been released by the Supreme Court and have again been turned loose upon our society to spread their virus. A few were deported, but the great mass of the 190,000 Americans known to have carried Communist cards are still in the United States. Some may have been converted to decency, but their vacancies have been filled with new recruits.

Yes, the truth is that the Communists are still here and even more powerful; but they learned some lessons from the candid exposure of their conspiratorial activities and real identities to which the Committee on Un-American Activities once subjected them. First, as I have noted, they stopped issuing cards and keeping written records. This has made it impossible to prove their subversive activities by unimpeachable records which not even the pseudo-liberals can question. Second, they became more careful in admitting members, and in

setting up "Front" organizations; known or identifiable Communists no longer serve as the managing officers of the most important Fronts.

Unlike the period before and during the first two years of the Dies Committee, they are no longer open, but they are just as active. They have shifted their major activities to racial agitation and the instigation and aggravation of riots, arson, brutalities, and murders in Negro sections of our cities in the name of "Civil Rights"; they are concentrating on the campuses of our universities and colleges, instigating and directing demonstrations against our war in Vietnam; in fact, they have become as effective today as they were in 1938. The battle fronts have shifted, and the leadership is better disguised, but the results of their activities are just as harmful to us and helpful to the cause of Communism as they have been at any period in American history.

Of course, if the Roosevelt Administration had followed the recommendations of the Committee on Un-American Activities, if it had heeded our warnings, the un-uniformed army of Communists and their agents and camp followers would have been decisively beaten in the United States years ago. As it was, they but suffered a temporary setback from which they have long since recovered. Our government's weak and indecisive action at home corresponded with its actions abroad. Time and again God gave us the opportunity to crush atheistic and criminal Communism, but our ruling "Liberals" either halted or retreated when we were on the threshold of victory. To paraphrase the words of the great Taylor Caldwell, we were never defeated but never victorious. Now, under their influence we are exhausting our resources, increasing our already staggering public debt, debasing our money, liquidating the middle class—and what is more disastrous, we are sacrificing the flower of our



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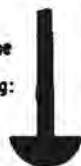
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young manhood in inconclusive wars which our "Liberals" will not let us win.

Nothing so saps the strength of a nation as prolonged and indecisive wars. Of all the youth of a modern country, only a small percentage is physically and mentally fitted for victorious combat. When Napoleon lost the elite corp of his invincible army, he lost its heart and core. The strategy of the Soviets should be obvious to any student of history. The U.S.S.R. is preserving her own youth while she traps us into policies and commitments which slowly but certainly destroy the finest of our capable young men. The Communists are bleeding us toward death in foreign entanglements while their domestic orderlies infect us internally.

Far-seeing and patriotic Americans, who know from history that contemporary "Liberal" policies will lead us to the same kind of totalitarianism we now fight in Vietnam, have been obligated to voice their opposition at the price of being slandered, and viciously attacked. Our misfortune has been the lack of great statesmen to lead us in these critical years, and the deterioration of American character, morals, and ideals. We have been poisoned by Marxism—and here lies its greatest threat to our survival. As grave as what is happening in the bleeding process on foreign battlefields is, what constitutes our major threat is what is happening on the campuses of our colleges and universities, in our government service, and in our preoccupation with luxury and material things. As a people, our vision has become dim and our judgment warped as we have been seduced from the principles of government set down for us by our Founding Fathers. We are lost in the labyrinth of collectivism; and, as Thomas Jefferson recommended in the event this happened, our only hope is to retrace our steps and to return to the specific principles set down in the Constitution.

This will not be easy. It may prove impossible. But it is worth our most powerful effort. In so great a cause no patriot should spare himself or shrink from the challenge—no matter the cost.

The Communist menace is easily as serious today as it was in 1938, when even the "Liberals" admit the nation was in mortal danger from Communist activities. The only difference in the Communists is a change of disguise and tactics. The great disagreement between anti-Communists and "Liberals" is that we know that while the Communists change their tactics from country to country and generation to generation, they never change their objective—which is to conquer the world. We dare not forget that.

America, my friends, is in mortal danger. Our national morality is in shambles, our Constitution hangs by a thread, our liberty and free agency is everyday further reduced by the encroachment of government become a crocodile. The Communists are openly agitating and fomenting in our streets, a Communist has recently murdered the President of the United States, our college campuses have been turned into havens for young revolutionaries who shout that they are Marxists and defile the honor of our beloved sons who are being killed by "Marxists" in Vietnam.

We are in grave trouble.

Since the conclusion of World War II, at a time when the Soviet Union was smaller in size than Czarist Russia, the International Communist Conspiracy has been on the move. It now controls more land area and people than did the combined forces of Germany and Japan during the darkest days of World War II. It directs mobs and looting and killing in our streets. It publicly flails the very young men whom we ask to die to protect us. Its influence and strength have shredded the restraints of our Constitution.

When will we fight back? ■ ■



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# POETRY

E. MERRILL ROOT

## CRUCIFIXION

His the lance that pierced the side  
White as lilies are;  
And he laughed to see the blood  
Flaming like a star.

His the hand that offered up  
Vinegar and gall  
To the thirsty lips of Him  
Who is God and All.

Later on a field he lay  
Wounded unto death,  
Through dried lips of agony  
Gasping for a breath.

Then he lifted up his eyes  
To the waking morn;  
And he saw beside him kneel  
One crowned with the thorn . . .

One who stooped with nail-scarred hands  
To ease the crimson flow;  
One who startled memories  
From the long ago . . .

One who touched his lips with dew . . .  
"Lord," he sighed, "Forgive!"  
And the good Christ answered him,  
"You shall live."

—EDGAR DANIEL KRAMER



## LA PIETA

Devoid of gems, this robe that covers her!  
Along its marble folds no lilting line  
Of joy has made the sculptor's pulses stir:  
No glad Magnificat in this design!  
Upon her knees, the Perfect Man who fired  
The world with hope becomes again her child,  
Though mother-arms will nevermore be tired  
With holding close the little Son who smiled.  
Again she views that star-lit, weary night:  
The friendly cattle wakened from their sleep,  
And taking swaddling clothes . . . again . . . milk-white  
She wraps the One who would not have us weep . . .  
So other Marys hold, today, their slain  
Against their tortured hearts, turned stone with pain.

—EMMA L'HOMMEDIEU FROST

## QUESTION IN A GARDEN

What secret calendar informs the flower  
That this and this alone is its true hour?  
Within the garden circle cycles move,  
Solving the intricate problems yet to prove.

What distant star ordains the bud, the leaf?  
What wisdom we shall never know  
Tells the new petal when to blow  
Its beauty over patient grass,  
And when to show its pattern in pure design  
Destined to be both durable and brief?

Below, the seeking roots embrace the dark,  
Walk the rich earth's eternal stair.  
Above, the stem, the leaf, the bud  
Lean on the promise of the air.

—SARA VAN ALSTYNE ALLEN

## J. Reuben Clark, Jr.



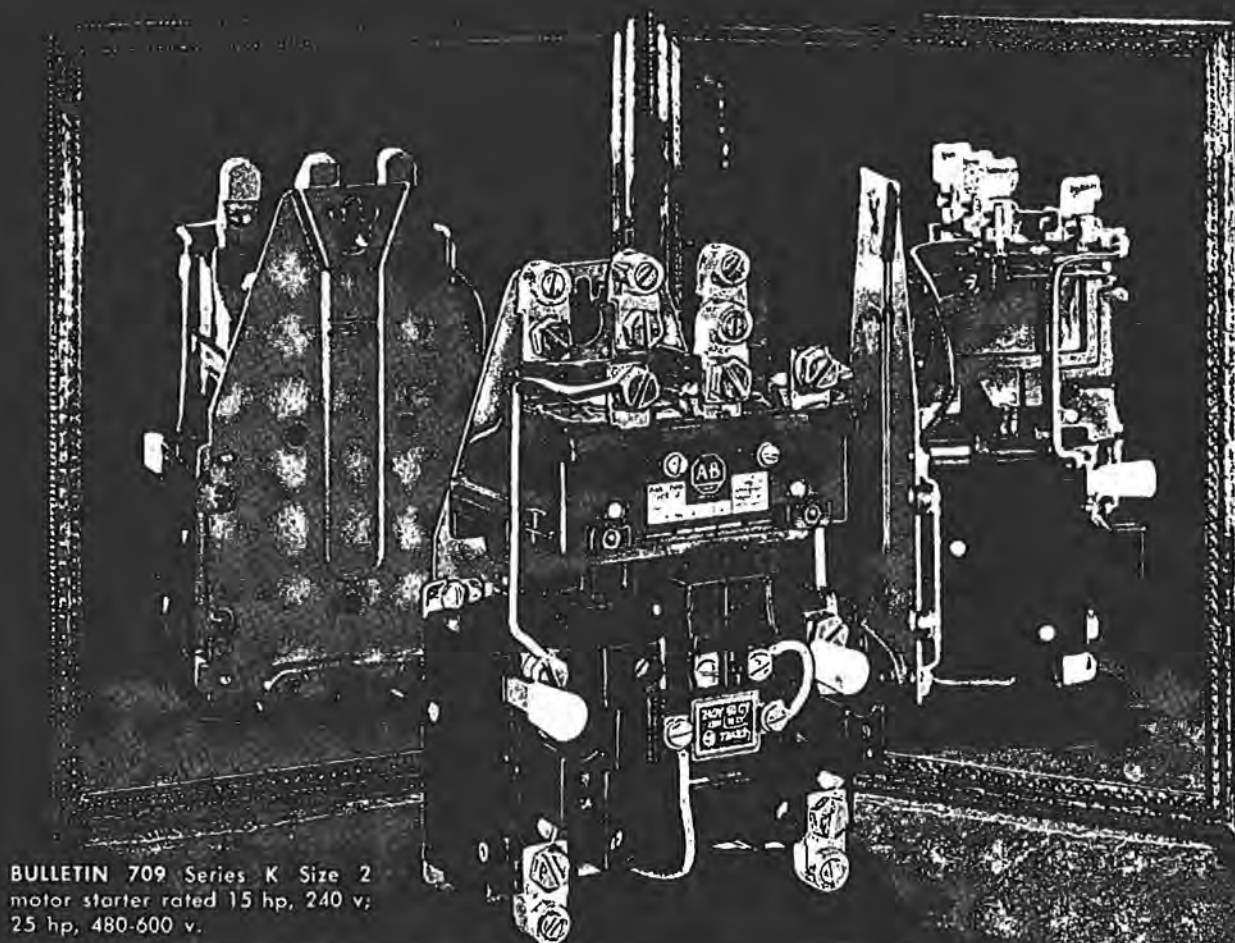
THIS MONTH we are glad to honor, with our cover portrait, a man who achieved greatness as both a prophet of his church and a statesman of his country. For in 1933 the Honorable J. Reuben Clark, Jr. was selected as a member of the First Presidency, which is the highest governing body of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon). He served in that capacity continuously until his death in 1961 at the age of ninety. And his spiritual leadership was monumental.

But it is primarily for his prophetic insight and courageous warning concerning the preservation of our Republic that we pay him special tribute here. Born in Utah on September 1, 1871, Reuben Clark was raised in the religious conviction that the Constitution of the United States was an inspired document, drafted by wise men whom the God of Heaven had raised up for that very purpose. To this conviction he added, through his studies and his work, a practical knowledge of the Constitution and its principles which made him probably the greatest authority on that subject during the past fifty years.

Reuben Clark graduated from Columbia Law School in 1906. He was Solicitor of the U. S. State Department, 1910-1913; Under Secretary of State, 1928-1929; and United States Ambassador to Mexico, 1930-1933. (His scholarly and famous *Memorandum On The Monroe Doctrine* was written while he was Under Secretary of State.) In between those jobs he performed almost countless special duties of a legislative nature, before or with various foreign bodies and commissions. With the most important result that he became one of the earliest and most outspoken "alarmists" in America concerning the menace and the progress of the Communist Conspiracy. "Do not think," he wrote many years ago, "that all these usurpations, intimidations, and impositions are being done to us through inadvertence or mistake. The whole course is being deliberately planned and carried out. Its purpose is to destroy the Constitution and our Constitutional government; then to bring chaos, out of which the new Statism, with its slavery, is to arise . . ."

J. Reuben Clark, Jr. died before there was much opportunity for him to learn anything about the great revival of patriotic spirit which is now taking place — and for which he helped so mightily to prepare the way. But it is very important for all of us to learn and heed what he said and wrote. He closed one of his greatest speeches with these words: "We have largely lost the conflict so far waged. But there is time to win the final victory if we sense our danger and fight . . . God give us strength to preserve our liberties."—ROBERT WELCH

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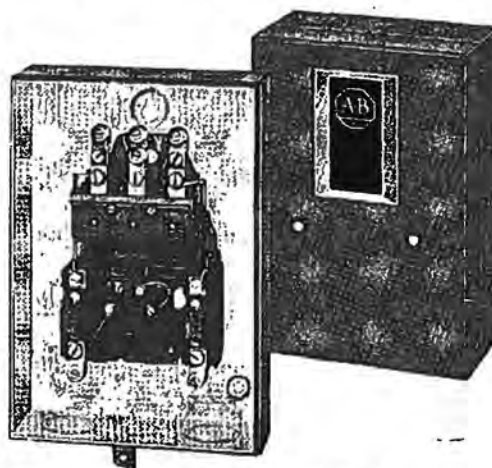
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